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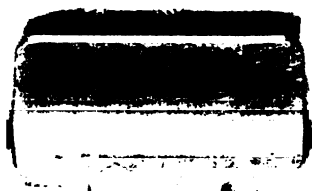
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A HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES SINCE THE FOUNDATION OF THE GOVERNMENT; TOGETHER WITH A CONSIDERATION OF THE CONDITIONS ATTENDING THEIR FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT; AND WITH A REPRINT OF THE SEVERAL PARTY PLATFORMS

BY

JAMES H. HOPKINS

FORMERLY REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM PENNSYLVANIA

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TO
MY TWO SONS;
AT WHOSE EARNEST SOLICITATION
THIS BOOK WAS WRITTEN.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MARCH 4, 1899.

~~36-72~~



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HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

FEDERALISTS—ANTI-FEDERALISTS—DEMOCRATS—
REPUBLICANS

1789-1824

IT is necessary to look at the political status of the American colonies before the Revolution in order to fully comprehend the difficulties encountered by the framers of the Constitution. The colonies of New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, and the Carolinas had provincial governments. The action of the authorities governing these colonies—the governor, council, and assembly—was subject to the direct supervision of the crown. Any and all of their acts could be disapproved and annulled by the crown. They were as completely subordinate and subject to the king as if they were under the shadow of his palace.

Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland were proprietary governments, which permitted more freedom of action, but always enforcing the sovereignty of the mother country. In Maryland the liberty was so broad

that its laws were not subject to the direct control of the king.

Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut were governed under charters granted by the crown. They were representative governments; most of the officers were elected by popular vote. It was only required that their laws, so far as possible, should conform to the laws of England.

Interference by Parliament with these vested rights in Massachusetts caused apprehension in all the colonies that they, too, would be curtailed of their privileges, and was one of the chief causes leading to the Revolution. This fear of complete subjection to England opened the eyes of the colonists to the necessity of some sort of union for mutual protection. Some, content with the freedom they enjoyed, and feeling secure in its continuance, were reluctantly brought to the suggestion of Franklin that a general congress be held, with representatives from all the colonies; and "after full and solemn assertion and declaration of their rights, to engage firmly with each other that they will never grant aids to the crown in any general war until those rights were recognized by the king and both houses of Parliament." This was on July 7, 1773. This was the germ from which the Continental Congress grew, and whose complete fruitage was the Constitution of the United States.

The Continental Congress was a mere temporary expedient. No one thought of independence. All felt that a united protest and appeal to the crown would secure the redress of grievances; and then each colony would continue its separate and independent government. But the sword was thus sharpened which was to sever all ties which bound the colonies to the crown.

Immediately after the independence of the States had been established and recognized, the question of their future government commanded the earnest and anxious

consideration of those who had suffered and sacrificed to rid themselves of foreign and oppressive rule. Some States, fearing to submit to any control or jurisdiction over them by any other than their own authorities, were unwilling to yield any of their autonomous power, preferring to remain separate and absolutely independent. Others felt it to be imperatively necessary to form a Federal Union of the States, with a central national government as a protection against foreign aggression, as, also, to prevent strifes between the States. Out of these dissimilar views grew the first two political parties in our history—viz.: the Federal and the Anti-Federal.

The Federalists wished to form a strong central government. The Anti-Federalists contended that there was no necessity for a general government; that nothing was needed but a continuation of the league between the States—each retaining its perfect independence. The weakness of this system was manifest; and when the cohesion of the war relaxed, it was seen to be worthless. It had no power to compel enlistments, to support an army, to regulate commerce, or to prevent or punish offences against its own laws. It was merely "a rope of sand."

But many who were opposed to the Federal plan believed that it was the best then attainable, and advocated the adoption of the Constitution as presented, trusting to future amendments to perfect it. Still there was strong opposition, which was at last overcome by public discussion. The very able articles of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, all over the signature of "Publius," and making the volume known as *The Federalist*, contributed very largely to the cause of convincing the people to favor the Constitution as prepared. Gerry of Massachusetts, a member of the convention, refused to sign the Constitution. George Mason of Virginia opposed it, as did Richard Henry Lee and William Grayson. John Marshall,

George Nicholas, and Chancellor Pendleton, and only after some delay Governor Edmund Randolph, earnestly supported it. Jefferson was absent from the country. His position on this great question is elsewhere set forth. Much apprehension was removed when the matchless orator, Patrick Henry, declared in favor of submitting the Constitution to a popular convention; although in the convention, when called, he firmly but fruitlessly opposed the ratification. In South Carolina Rawlins Lowndes, with great force and earnestness, opposed the calling of a popular convention to act upon the matter. He was opposed by a distinguished array of great men, such as Pierce Butler, the two Pinckneys, two Rutledges, and others, whose position was sustained after a three-days' debate. Luther Martin strenuously opposed the Constitution in Maryland. In New York, Yates and Lansing, who had been members of the Constitutional convention, retired from that body before its work was completed, and came out against its ratification. With them was Clinton. But, by the essays in *The Federalist* and other arguments, the friends of the Constitution prevailed. It was, however, by a very small majority.

In Pennsylvania the debate was led by James Wilson, who had been one of the ablest of the immortal group who framed the Constitution. Less known than many of his compatriots, he was nevertheless their peer in wisdom and political sagacity. Chief Justice McKean ably seconded Wilson's efforts, and Pennsylvania was made secure for the Constitution. The ratification by Connecticut was secured by the influence and arguments of Oliver Ellsworth, Oliver Wolcott, Governor Huntington, and Richard Law. Samuel Adams, brave, blunt, and patriotic, opposed the ratification in Massachusetts. When the convention met, a majority of its members stood with Adams. But the opposition to the

Constitution abated under the persuasive and convincing eloquence of Fisher Ames, Dana, Bowdoin, Sedgwick, and a number of Revolutionary officers and distinguished clergymen; and the ratification was carried by a small majority. There was friction elsewhere; but at last the Constitution was ratified.

But the contest for, and ultimate adoption of, the Federal theory developed marked differences of opinion amongst its advocates; some of which were so fundamental as to cause the formation of another party, or rather a re-alignment of the existing parties. Many who had supported the Federal theory took alarm at the extreme views of some of their colleagues, and commenced to affiliate with the Anti-Federalists; which designation took on a new meaning, signifying opposition to the tendency to the centralization of power in the general government. Those retaining the name of "Federalist" were extremists, and inclined to favor the establishment of a monarchy. John Adams declared that the British Constitution would be the most perfect if some of its defects and abuses were corrected. Hamilton went farther, and expressed his conviction that, as it stood, the British system was the most perfect ever devised, and that the correction of its vices would impair its power. He may not have wished a monarchy to be established here,—as many believed,—but he certainly advocated incorporating in the Constitution monarchic features.

The class of statesmen of which these two were, in a great measure, the representatives, wanted the new government to be modelled largely after that of the mother country. True, we had rebelled against her rule in this country; but, it was said, the revolt had not been against the form of government, but against the manner of its administration.

In after years Adams disclaimed having ever desired to have a monarchy established here. But it is quite certain

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that his long residence at foreign courts had biased his mind in favor of pomp and ceremony, and high-sounding titles. He rejoiced in an escort of horsemen on his way to be inaugurated as Vice-President. He tried to impress Washington with his views of official etiquette. He talked a great deal of dress and undress, of attendants, gentlemen in waiting, chamberlains, etc. In the chair as Vice-President he designated Washington's address as "most gracious," which words bluff, blunt William McClay insisted should be stricken from the minutes; and it was done.

There were many with Adams who, if not monarchists, were earnestly in favor of perpetuating an aristocracy, and their action in forming the Constitution was colored by those views. They wanted the President to be called "Excellency," or "His Highness, President of the United States and Protector of their liberties." Jefferson, Samuel Adams,—John's cousin,—and those of their school, were opposed to all titles—even that of Esquire. What might seem to be unimportant differences were magnified by the Constitution over weightier matters. Two theories of government were struggling for the mastery: one in favor of the largest civil liberty and local self-government. On the other hand, Hamilton's plan was to give the general government power to make laws governing the States in all cases whatsoever; to have the President and Senators hold office during good behavior; and the governors of States should be appointed under authority of the United States. This desire to perpetuate an aristocracy, and to centralize power in the general government, was strenuously and successfully combated by those holding more democratic views; and by those who, while willing to surrender some of the prerogatives of independent States, were utterly unwilling to be denied the right of selecting their own rulers, and making laws for their local government.

They were also opposed to long terms of office-holding, insisting upon the President's being ineligible for re-election after eight years of service.

The differences were finally adjusted; but, in the creation of a representative republic, care was sought to be taken to limit its powers. These limitations became a fruitful source of discussion from that day to this, one side contending for a strict construction, and the other insisting that the Constitution should be liberally and loosely interpreted.

These differences of opinion did not immediately result in arraying the opposing forces against each other; for, by universal agreement, Washington was to be the first President; and all the people felt unbounded confidence in his unselfish patriotism, his impregnable integrity, his unequalled sagacity; and they knew that under his administration the new government would be firmly established without either faction acquiring any great predominance.

The debate upon the manner in which the President should be chosen showed the same conflict of views as has already been referred to. On the one side it was urged that Congress should make the election. The other side opposed this concentration of power, and insisted that the choice should be as nearly a direct expression of the popular will as was consistent with the dignity, deliberation, and orderly proceeding which the importance of the issue demanded. It was determined that the people in each State should vote for a body of electors, and that the electors so chosen should elect the President and Vice-President; the person having the largest number, and a majority, of electoral votes should be the President, and the one having the next highest number of votes should be the Vice-President. Under this system, when parties became well defined, it was probable, and perhaps was so intended (and several times so

resulted), that the President and Vice-President would be of opposing political parties.

There was no uniformity at first, in the method of choosing electors. In Massachusetts and Virginia they were chosen by districts. In Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and Maryland the electors were chosen on a general ticket. In New Jersey, Delaware, Connecticut, Georgia, and South Carolina the selection was made by the legislatures. North Carolina and Rhode Island, not having ratified the Constitution, did not vote at the first election; and New York's vote was lost by a deadlock, the Senate being in control of the Federalists, and the Assembly dominated by the Anti-Federalists. The electoral votes were to be cast by the legislature; the Senate demanded a concurrent vote; the Assembly insisted upon a joint ballot. Neither would yield, and hence the vote of the State was lost.

Washington was elected President by a unanimous vote, and John Adams was associated with him as Vice-President.¹

In the first Congress there were twenty-two in the

¹ Electoral votes for George Washington were: New Hampshire, 5; Massachusetts, 10; Connecticut, 7; New Jersey, 6; Pennsylvania, 10; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 6; Virginia, 10; South Carolina, 7; Georgia, 5—total, 69.

For Adams: New Hampshire, 5; Massachusetts, 10; Connecticut, 5; Pennsylvania, 8; Virginia, 5; New Jersey, 1—total, 34.

For Huntington: Connecticut, 2—total, 2.

For Jay: New Jersey, 5; Delaware, 3; Virginia, 1—total, 9.

For Hancock: Pennsylvania, 2; Virginia, 1; South Carolina, 1—total, 4.

For R. H. Harrison: Maryland, 6—total, 6.

For Geo. Clinton: Virginia, 3—total, 3.

For Rutledge: South Carolina, 6—total, 6.

For John Milton: Georgia, 2—total, 2.

For Jas. Armstrong: Georgia, 1—total, 1.

For Ed. Telfair: Georgia, 1—total, 1.

For Benjamin Lincoln: Georgia, 1—total, 1.

New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island did not vote, as explained above.

Senate, all Federalists; in the House were fifty-three Federalists, twelve Democrat-Republicans.

Vermont was admitted in 1791; Kentucky in 1792.

During the second session of the first Congress, Hamilton proposed the establishment of a National Bank to act as the financial agent of the United States. The Anti-Federalists denied the power of Congress, under the Constitution, to create such a corporation. Besides the opposition upon constitutional grounds, it was strenuously urged that there was no necessity for the creation of such an institution; that it would subject the government to the money power. That there was a basis for this apprehension will appear when we consider the application for a new charter for the bank. In 1791 the bill was vigorously fought, but was finally carried.

Another of Hamilton's schemes was assumption by the general government of debts of the several States contracted during the Revolution. These and other matters roused the hostility of the strict constructionists. The contest over this proposition was so stubborn and animated that it was first adopted, then reconsidered, and then defeated. Its adoption was finally secured by one of those parliamentary bargains which condone inconsistency; and from which custom has removed the smirch of dishonesty. Hamilton secured enough votes to pass his scheme, by agreeing to support the proposition to locate the Federal capital on the bank of the Potomac.

As many of the Anti-Federalists had surrendered their views in order to secure the adoption of the Constitution, so now many of the leading Federalists joined with their former opponents to resist the aggrandizement of power in the general government. Under the leadership of Mr. Jefferson, they formed the new and distinctive organization called the Democratic-Republican party, which name has been retained through all the succeeding years, except that in 1825 the co-title, Republican, was dropped;

and thenceforward the simpler name — Democratic — designated the party of strict constructionists founded by Jefferson. The original name, " Democratic-Republican " continued in use in some States, notably in Pennsylvania, until about 1840.

The second Congress had in the Senate seventeen Federalists, thirteen Democrat-Republicans. The House had fifty-five Federalists, fourteen Democrat-Republicans.

One feature of Hamilton's financial policy brought the country to the very verge of civil war. Having assumed the debts of the States, it was found that the revenues of the government were not sufficient for its needs; especially as wars with the Indians were being prosecuted. In 1791 Hamilton proposed and secured the passage of a law imposing an excise tax. This aroused furious opposition. The hardy frontiersmen, who had to defend themselves and their families from constantly threatened Indian attacks, while clearing their land and cultivating their crops, considered this tax extremely oppressive. Far removed from any market for their grain, their only means of transportation being by pack-horses over the mountains—an extensive and dangerous journey—or by river to New Orleans, a longer journey, and exposed to the double danger of navigating uncharted rivers, and of attacks by the Indians who lined the river banks, it was found more remunerative to distil the grain into whiskey, carry it by floats to New Orleans, and convert its proceeds into groceries and other domestic necessities. Under this excise law, the farmers were compelled to pay a double tax—one as excise, and the other as impost on the goods purchased with their whiskey. This aggravated their hostility, for they considered that unequal burdens were loaded upon them, as people in the east, far better able than they, had no excise tax to pay, being chiefly merchants, manufacturers, shippers, and professional men.

The feeling of hostility to the law was widespread and intense, especially in western Pennsylvania. Excise officers were ostracized, as were all who aided them, even by renting them office room. Occasionally, one of the more officious and exasperating was ridden on a rail by his neighbors. As the people grew more reckless, the mails were tampered with to discover the tactics of the officers. Finally a collision occurred and blood was shed. It is a very general but very great mistake to believe that those people were innately lawless. There were amongst them demagogues and desperadoes. But the mass of the community was orderly, respectable, church-going, and religious. They were suffering under what they considered a great wrong.

The revolt was very formidable. At a mass meeting held on Braddock's Field — where Washington had won his spurs — many thousands attended. The President called out fifteen thousand Eastern troops, and marched with them to Bedford. Hamilton continued with them to Pittsburg. The bubble of revolution burst. But Hamilton remained to superintend the prosecution of the malcontents. The bitterness felt against him solidified the opposition to his party in all that section.

The result of this ugly episode demonstrated the ability of the government to enforce its laws; this most critical juncture in the early days of the Republic leaving it more respected at home and abroad.

Knox — whom Madison called Hamilton's shadow — proposed that the insurgents should be disfranchised, and the Pennsylvania Legislature passed an act to that effect. It was charged that the purpose of this act was to enable the Federalists to secure a Senator from Pennsylvania, and to exclude Albert Gallatin from the House of Representatives. The lesson in partisan tactics thus early resorted to was well learned, and effectively practised in later years.

Questions of foreign policy then, as now, had much to do in determining party affiliations, temporarily or permanently. In view of her invaluable aid in our struggle for independence, as well as her effort to establish a republic, popular sympathy was strongly with France and against England, who had failed to comply with some of the terms of the treaty of 1783. She had not surrendered her military posts on our soil; and it was believed that she continued to incite the Indians to commit depredations and murder. Our seamen were impressed; and British vessels seized our ships laden with grain *en route* to France. Hence the old-time hostility to England was kept at fever heat. In 1793, Jay was sent to England to negotiate a new treaty, which, when made public, aroused a storm of indignation which was only allayed by the powerful influence of Washington.

Our cordial relations with France were somewhat impaired by the insolent and illegal acts of Genet, a French envoy to this country, and so diplomacy entered into politics, or politics into diplomacy.

The Federalists, who sympathized with England, supported Jay's treaty. The Democrats, who were friendly to France, denounced the treaty as an infamous surrender to England, and a base betrayal of our commercial interests. Democratic societies were organized throughout the country to resist the growing influence of the British policy, and to cultivate a closer alliance with France. But for the wisdom and firmness of Washington, this country would probably have been involved in the war between England and France. But, although this calamity was averted, the discussion and contention had a great effect on party affiliations.

At the second election Washington was again chosen without opposition. But already parties were being solidified. Adams, Federalist, received 77 votes. Clinton, Democrat-Republican, 50 votes. Jefferson, Democrat-

Republican, 4 votes. Burr, Democrat-Republican, 1 vote.¹

The third Congress had in the Senate 18 Federalists, 13 Democrat-Republicans; the House had 51 Federalists, 54 Democrat-Republicans.

The fourth Congress had in the Senate 19 Federalists, 13 Democrat-Republicans; the House 46 Federalists, 59 Democrat-Republicans. This indicates something of the ebb and flow of political sentiment.

Tennessee was admitted in 1796.

Jefferson was an Ambassador to France while the Constitution was being framed. But he anxiously watched its progress, and wrote many earnest letters to his friends at home, urging that all possible safeguards be incorporated in the instrument to limit the power of the Federal Government, and to protect the States in the enjoyment of their freedom and autonomy. Nor did these efforts cease with the adoption of the Constitution. He continued to insist on the necessity for amendments in the nature of a Bill of Rights, and under the able leadership of Madison—Jefferson's most trusted friend—ten amendments to the Constitution were adopted. It was supposed that these amendments would effectually serve the purpose contemplated, and free the Constitution from any doubtful interpretation. But the loose constructionists contended that many powers not specifically granted

¹ For Washington: New Hampshire, 6; Massachusetts, 16; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 9; Vermont, 3; New York, 12; New Jersey, 7; Pennsylvania, 15; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 8; Virginia, 21; Kentucky, 4; North Carolina, 12; South Carolina, 8; Georgia, 4—total, 132.

For Adams: New Hampshire, 6; Massachusetts, 16; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 9; Vermont, 3; New Jersey, 7; Pennsylvania, 14; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 8; South Carolina, 7—total, 77.

For Geo. Clinton: New York, 12; Pennsylvania, 1; Virginia, 21; North Carolina, 12; Georgia, 4—total, 50.

For Jefferson: Kentucky, 4—total, 4.

For Burr: South Carolina, 1—total, 1.

to the Federal Government might be inferred. And this conflict of opinion continued during Washington's second term, and greatly influenced the cementing of parties; and it has ever since been a cardinal doctrine separating the political parties.

Jefferson and Hamilton, both members of Washington's Cabinet, had not agreed upon the form of government. Now that the Constitution had been adopted and was in full operation, they differed widely upon the proper construction of that instrument. Jefferson was for a strict construction, and for limiting the power of the Federal Government to that plainly conferred by the organic law. Hamilton wanted the general government to assume and exercise all powers which the most liberal construction would sanction. Hamilton advocated and Jefferson opposed, on the constitutional ground that it was the exercise of unwarranted powers, the incorporation of the Philadelphia Bank. Hamilton favored and Jefferson opposed any legislation which might tend to create or encourage monopolies. These two able and distinguished men were the founders of the two schools of thought which, to a great extent, divided the people in their day, and for many years thereafter, and in some degree even to the present.

Hamilton favored, Jefferson opposed, the assumption of the States' debts. And there were other subjects of disagreement.

This conflict between two great minds brought discord into the President's official family. Both had the respect and confidence of Washington, and by both he was loved and venerated. Jefferson expressed his desire to retire from the Cabinet; but at Washington's earnest solicitation he continued at his post until some time after the second Presidential election. On January 1, 1794, he resigned, with Washington's consent, reluctantly given, and retired to his country home in Virginia. He was out

of, but not by any means indifferent to, the sweeping current of political events. From his retracy he looked anxiously at the threatening rocks and dangerous eddies, and sent to his friends grave admonition and wise counsel as to how Scylla and Charybdis could both be avoided. He was busily engaged in building a ship which should safely navigate the troubled waters, and carry its precious cargo of free Republican institutions through the gathering storms into a safe, broad, and prosperous future.

Associated with Jefferson in moulding the Democratic party were Madison, Monroe, Samuel Adams, Albert Gallatin, George Clinton, Franklin.

Hamilton was aided on the Federalist side by Marshall, Jay, John Adams, Pinckney.

Here upon either side was a rare array of intellectual giants, and all unquestionably patriotic and honest.

Had Washington consented to serve for a third term, no party differences would have been able, or would have attempted, to defeat him. But he peremptorily refused to listen to the entreaties of both Jefferson and Hamilton. Thus the field was open to party contention.

The system of nominating conventions had not yet been devised. Even nominating caucuses were not in vogue. Hence there was no concentration of the votes of either party.

In 1796, at the third election, the necessity for the better organization of the opposing forces, in order to secure success, became apparent. Adams, Federalist, received 71. Pinckney, Federalist, 59. Jefferson, Democrat-Republican, 68. Burr, Democrat-Republican, 30. Samuel Adams, Democrat-Republican, 15. Ellsworth, Anti-Federalist, 11. George Clinton, Republican, 7. Jay, Federalist, 5, and scattering, 10. The parties were pretty closely matched, but had the votes of the Democrat-Republicans been massed, Jefferson would have been

elected. In 1797-98 party spirit became so bitter that antagonists would not speak to each other.¹

In the fifth Congress, upon the inauguration of Adams, the Senate was composed of 21 Federalists, 11 Democrat-Republicans; the House had 51 Federalists and 54 Democrat-Republicans.

In the next Congress—the sixth—the Senate had 19 Federalists, 13 Democrat-Republicans; the House 57 Federalists and 48 Democrat-Republicans.

Adams was unfortunate in being the successor of Washington. The contrast in their temperaments and mental make-up was greatly to the disparagement of Adams. Washington was calm, deliberate, unprejudiced, considerate, and conciliatory. Adams was rash, headlong, hotheaded, and passionate; and, imbued with admiration for the British form of government, he sought, as far as possible, to engraft its practices upon our Republican system.

¹ Electoral votes for Adams were: North Carolina, 1; Virginia, 1; Maryland, 7; Delaware, 3; Pennsylvania, 1; New Jersey, 7; New York, 12; Connecticut, 9; Rhode Island, 4; Massachusetts, 16; Vermont, 4; New Hampshire, 6—total, 71.

For Jefferson: Tennessee, 3; Kentucky, 4; Georgia, 4; South Carolina, 8; North Carolina, 11; Virginia, 20; Maryland, 4; Pennsylvania, 14—total, 68.

For Pinckney: South Carolina, 8; North Carolina, 1; Virginia, 1; Maryland, 4; Delaware, 3; Pennsylvania, 2; New Jersey, 7; New York, 12; Connecticut, 4; Massachusetts, 13; Vermont, 4—total, 59.

For Aaron Burr: Tennessee, 3; Kentucky, 4; North Carolina, 6; Virginia, 1; Maryland, 3; Pennsylvania, 13—total, 30.

For Samuel Adams: Virginia, 15—total, 15.

For Ellsworth: Rhode Island, 4; Massachusetts, 1; New Hampshire, 6—total, 11.

For Jay: Connecticut, 5—total, 5.

For Geo. Clinton: Georgia, 4; Virginia, 3—total, 7.

For S. Johnston of North Carolina: Massachusetts, 2—total, 2.

For Jas. Iredell of North Carolina: North Carolina, 3—total, 3.

For Geo. Washington: North Carolina, 1; Virginia, 1—total, 2.

For C. C. Pinckney: North Carolina, 1—total, 1.

For John Henry of Maryland: Maryland, 2—total, 2.

Jay's treaty continued to rankle in the breast of France. Our merchant ships were seized and confiscated. Our minister, Pinckney, was ordered to leave the country; three new envoys were sent, who were snubbed and sent home. These indignities caused France to lose much sympathy, and correspondingly strengthened the Federalists. Others, feeling that we had equal grievances against England, retained their preference for France. This contest caused a stranger to say that there seemed to be in America many English, many French, but very few Americans.

War with France was felt to be imminent. Inter-course was suspended; several warlike measures were adopted. Adams claimed the right to declare war; and although he refrained from the fatal act, he granted a license to arm. Those Democrats who were drifting into Federalism hesitated upon seeing how their old opponents, elated by their success, were trying to centralize power in the general government. Their hesitancy was soon turned to an abrupt retreat and a speedy re-enlistment under the banner of Democracy, when, in 1798, the Alien and Sedition laws were passed. The passage of these acts sounded the death-knell of Federalism.

Under the Alien law the President was authorized upon his own volition to expel from the country any alien whom he might suspect as being dangerous to the peace and liberty of the country, and any who refused to obey the President's order could be fined and imprisoned.

The Sedition law quickly followed, which imposed fine and imprisonment upon any who should combine together to oppose any measure of government; and upon any who should utter any false, scandalous, or malicious writing against the Government, Congress, or the President.

These two tremendous strides towards arbitrary and absolute power caused such a revulsion of feeling that

the Federalists were defeated by their own extreme radicalism. Freedom of speech and of the press were sought to be nullified, notwithstanding their security was guaranteed by the Constitution. The modern monarchical doctrine of *lese-majesty* was far surpassed; for those statutes struck down the right of trial by jury, the right of the accused to be confronted with the witnesses against him, and the right to present witnesses in his own behalf.

The Federalists were strengthened in their control of Congress (see the table of the sixth Congress) by elections which were held during the war panic; for then, as always, appeal to patriotism suppressed party spirit. The troubles with France were ended by a treaty of peace, yet the Federalists continued to enforce the odious Alien and Sedition laws. Protests came thick and fast. At this time the famous Kentucky and Virginia resolutions were passed by the respective legislatures of those States. These resolutions were prepared by Jefferson and Madison, and, amongst other things, contained a bold and defiant denunciation of the two laws as unconstitutional and a gross usurpation of power.

At the next succeeding election, in 1800, there was no straggling amongst the forces upon either side. They were well organized, and moved in compact masses.¹

In this campaign, Jefferson, in a letter to Gideon

¹ Electoral votes for Jefferson: New York, 12; Pennsylvania, 8; Maryland, 5; Virginia, 21; Kentucky, 4; North Carolina, 8; Tennessee, 3; South Carolina, 8; Georgia, 4—total, 73.

Aaron Burr received precisely the same number of votes from each of the above-named States. There being a tie between Jefferson and Burr, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, and resulted as stated in the text.

The other electoral votes cast at this election were for John Adams: New Hampshire, 6; Massachusetts, 16; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 9; Vermont, 4; New Jersey, 7; Pennsylvania, 7; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 5; North Carolina, 4—total, 65.

The same votes were cast for C. C. Pinckney, except that one of the Rhode Island votes was cast for John Jay.

Granger, of August 13, 1800, outlined the principles which he advocated and represented—viz. : the preservation of rights unquestionably remaining with the States; freedom of religion and of the press; trial by jury; an economical administration of the government; opposition to war, to standing armies, to the paper money system; to all connection, other than commercial, with any foreign nation.

At this election Jefferson, Democrat-Republican, received 73 votes. Burr, Democrat-Republican, 73. Adams, Federalist, 65. Pinckney, Federalist, 64. Jay, Federalist, 1. In this year nominations for President and Vice-President were made for the first time, and then by a caucus of members of Congress. The parties were generally designated as Federalists and Democrat-Republicans; by some they were called Tories and Whigs.

The method of selecting nominees by a Congressional caucus continued to be followed until 1820. In 1824 an effort was made to revive the practice in the interest of Mr. Crawford, of Georgia. But very few attended the caucus; and it was believed that the nomination of Crawford by that body wrought him an injury rather than benefit.

Under the then existing law there was no election, and the House of Representatives was called upon to determine the contest. There ensued an unseemly struggle within the ranks of the Democrat-Republican party between the adherents of Jefferson and those of Burr. It was not until thirty-six ballots had been taken that Jefferson was declared elected.

Under the Constitution, when an election is thrown into the House of Representatives by reason of the failure of any candidate to receive a majority of the electoral votes, the vote is taken by States; each State, or a majority of its representatives, being entitled to but one vote, without regard to its population, and without

regard to the popular vote at the polls. The choice was limited to two Democrats, they having received the greater number of votes in the electoral college. Between Jefferson and Burr, the Federalists preferred Burr, naturally regarding Jefferson as their most pronounced and bitter enemy. They delayed the election for six days, possibly, as was charged, with the hope of deferring the election until March 4th, and then making Jay, the Chief Justice, provisional President. The balloting continued day after day, eight States voting for Jefferson, six for Burr, and two, being equally divided, cast no vote. At last, on the 17th of February, 1801, ten States voted for Jefferson, four for Burr, and two without votes. Jefferson was declared elected President and Burr Vice-President.

At the same election 71 Democrats were returned to the House and only 34 Federalists. The complexion of the Senate was also changed, there being 19 Democrats to 13 Federalists.

The next—the eighth—Congress showed further gains for the Democrats. The Senate had 24 Democrats, 10 Federalists; the House 103 Democrats, 38 Federalists.

No President ever came into office as thoroughly equipped as Jefferson. He was complete master of the Latin, Greek, and Italian classics. He had a wide range of scientific acquirements, and a deep knowledge of natural history. He was profoundly versed in the philosophy of politics. As Secretary of State, and Ambassador abroad, handling the most delicate and important questions, he had proved himself to be an adept in diplomacy. He was an able lawyer and a sagacious statesman. When in the Virginia Legislature, he had revised the statutes of the State, thereby working out a revolution in its policy, and leading the way to like reforms throughout the country. In these measures he showed his fixed hostility to whatever savored of aristocracy, or of a perpetuation of

wealth in families. He barred entailed estates, abolished primogenitures, and removed all feudal and unnatural distinctions and restrictions upon the just division of estates. He prohibited any general tax for sectarian purposes, guaranteeing absolute freedom of belief and worship.

Jefferson was the friend and promoter of education, and founded a college at Charlottesville. In the Declaration of Independence he showed to the world how completely he was imbued with Democratic principles. And that this was not merely a theoretic idea he demonstrated by his free intercourse with the people.

This election made the defect in the law and the danger of intrigue so apparent and alarming that the law was changed; and thereafter the electors designated the man for whom their votes were cast for President, and, separately, the one for whom they voted for Vice-President.

Jefferson's Inaugural set forth the policy by which he proposed to be guided. He would strictly construe the grants of power to the Federal Government; recognize and maintain to the fullest extent the powers reserved by the States; he would favor the prompt payment of the national debt; the reduction of the army and navy; and he would reduce the taxes and tariff duties as low as practicable. He was very pronounced against the issue of paper money; would even favor an amendment to the Constitution to prohibit the government from borrowing money. He did not believe that "a public debt is a public blessing." Amongst his first acts was the pardon of those convicted under the Alien and Sedition laws.

The distribution of patronage became a troublesome question, as it always will be, whether the prevalent theory be that "to the victors belong the spoils," or that the rules of "civil service reform" shall control. Notwithstanding the angry party feeling, and notwith-

standing Mr. Adams, after his defeat, and before his term expired, had appointed as many Federalists to office as he could find, or make room for, Jefferson adhered to his fixed purpose of removing no one except for "offensive partisanship," in using their offices for party ends.

When Congress met they at once commenced the promised retrenchment and reform by reducing the army and navy, the taxes and tariff duties; and by reducing the requisite ante-naturalization residence from fourteen to five years. In their indignant zeal to undo a great wrong, they shut their eyes and ears to the doctrine of "strict construction"; and repealed the law passed by the Federalists, during the last hours of their power, which created twenty-four new courts with their full equipment of officers. Adams had worked until midnight of March 3d, signing commissions for these judges. This so incensed the Democrats that they easily persuaded themselves that they could and ought to lay the axe to the root of the matter.

Great irritation was caused by the action of Spain in closing the mouth of the Mississippi against the commerce of this country. To this irritation grave apprehension was added when Louisiana was ceded by Spain to France in 1802. Under Spain's dominion there was great inconvenience and some loss of trade; but under the control of a strong power like France the situation became serious. Monarchies and the sea surrounded us; the outlet for our great northwest and much of our southwest territory was closed, and its development paralyzed. Jefferson felt that there was an imperative necessity to acquire the Mississippi Valley and its outlet. He sent Colonel Monroe to France to aid our minister, Mr. Livingston, in negotiating for the purchase of Louisiana; and he was to secure Florida also. Napoleon's need for money caused him to favor the project; and for fifteen million dollars the entire and splendid domain of

Louisiana became ours. The convention was concluded in April, 1803, and was ratified October 20, 1803, by a vote of 24 to 7. In his message to Congress, Jefferson outlined the policy of the United States which, later, became known by the name of his ambassador—the "Monroe doctrine."

Fully and firmly as he was convinced that the acquisition of Louisiana was essential to the peace and security of the United States, and to the fair development of its resources and its commerce, Jefferson did not delude himself into the belief, nor pretend to others, that this purchase could be justified under a strict construction of the Constitution; but rather defended it upon the doctrine, *Necessitas non habet lex*. It was clear to him that Louisiana must be ours, or we would soon be embroiled in a war with France. He suggested an amendment to the Constitution which should authorize the purchase; but determined that the purchase could not await that slow process. He likened his position to that of a guardian who invests his ward's money without authority; and when the ward comes of age, the guardian reports what he has done and leaves the ward to approve or repudiate the investment: if he should repudiate, the guardian must get out of the difficulty as best he can. But the treaty of purchase was ratified by the Senate, and by universal popular approval; and no action was taken towards the proposed Constitutional amendment. Upon the question of ratifying the treaty, the debate was on the same lines as that had when Jay's treaty was under consideration; but now the Federalists and Democrats had changed sides on the issue, and each belabored the other with his own arguments used in the former discussion.

In 1802, by an amendment to the Constitution, the mode of electing President and Vice-President was changed to the present system.

Ohio was admitted into the Union in 1803.

The extreme measures under the Adams administration, as the Alien and Sedition laws, the Naturalization law, extending the period of preliminary residence from five to fourteen years, and the appointments to office so injudiciously made during the last night of expiring power, and Jefferson's prudent exercise of his official functions, and active dissemination of his theories of government, caused many moderate Federalists to enlist under the Democrat-Republican banner. The Congressional elections showed the growing power of the dominant party; and at the next general election its victory was overwhelming and its control firmly established. Jefferson had 162; Pinckney, Federalist, 14. George Clinton of New York was chosen Vice-President over Rufus King.

In Congress the Democrats had an immense majority, controlling both branches of the legislature.¹

In the Senate there were 27 Democrats and 7 Federalists; in the House, 112 Democrats and 29 Federalists. This was the ninth Congress. In the tenth Congress the Democrats had 27 in the Senate; the Federalists had 7. In the House there were 110 Democrats to 31 Federalists.

The unfriendly action of Spain continued to cripple our commerce; as did also the protracted wars in Europe, in which neither side showed much consideration for the rights of American citizens. The President, although averse to an increase of the navy, felt that something must be done to protect our commerce. In compliance with his recommendation a number of small gunboats

¹ Electoral votes for Jefferson for President, and George Clinton for Vice-President, under the new law were: New Hampshire, 7; Massachusetts, 19; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 6; New York, 19; New Jersey, 8; Pennsylvania, 20; Maryland, 9; Virginia, 24; North Carolina, 14; South Carolina, 10; Georgia, 6; Tennessee, 5; Kentucky, 8; Ohio, 3—total, 162.

For C. C. Pinckney for President and Rufus King for Vice-President: Connecticut, 9; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 2—total, 14.

were ordered. Randolph, who on account of pique or disappointment, or from some worthier motive, had deserted his party friends, now joined the Federalists, and brought in resolutions calculated to bring on a collision with Spain. These resolutions were voted down by the Democrats; but they passed others authorizing the purchase of Florida. This, however, was delayed more than ten years. Measures retaliating against Great Britain were introduced in 1806. A legislative "boycott" was passed, prohibiting the importation of English goods. The vote on this bill showed the relative strength of parties. In the Senate there were 19 in favor and 6 against. In the House 93 voted for the bill and only 32 against it.

An episode, with some significant political meaning and effect, occurred in 1806. This was Burr's singular and unexplained excursion to the southwest. This brilliant, erratic, and disappointed genius, burning with a desire to gratify his ambition, organized an armed expedition which sailed down the Mississippi. Believing Burr's purpose to be treasonable, Jefferson issued a proclamation warning the people not to join or aid the enterprise; and he ordered Burr's arrest. Chief Justice Marshall presided at the trial. He and Jefferson were neither personal or political friends, and Marshall's rulings at the trial incurred Jefferson's animosity. The arrest and trial took on a partisan aspect. The Federalists, who were wont to give great latitude in interpreting the Constitution, now became strict constructionists, and denounced the arrest of Burr as an Executive usurpation. Consistency is not deemed much of a jewel when party capital can be made by disregarding it. Burr, who had been a staunch Democrat, and as such had been elected Vice-President, was now taken under the wing of the Federalists, and every effort was expended to gain political capital out of his prosecution. He was acquitted on the plea to the jurisdiction; and so the matter ended.

In 1806 a treaty was negotiated with Great Britain, with the view to produce a better feeling between the two countries.

It contained no renunciation of the practice of impressment, but it was almost a duplication of the Jay treaty, which Jefferson had so violently and persistently opposed. It was, therefore, not surprising that he promptly rejected this new treaty, and that without submitting it to the Senate. English anger and arrogance became more and more undisguised and offensive. In June, 1807, a British frigate—the *Leopard*—forcibly took four seamen from the U. S. frigate *Chesapeake*, while lying in Hampton Roads. This right of search and seizure was claimed by Great Britain, and had been repeatedly exercised. And as no treaty could be secured withdrawing England's claim to exercise this alleged right, the contention continued; war was the inevitable result.

The aggressions on the commerce of the United States were fast destroying it entirely. A counter-blow must be struck. A proclamation was issued forbidding British armed vessels to enter any of the ports of the United States. Congress was called to meet in special session; the international situation was set forth in a message from the President, and upon his recommendation an act was passed prohibiting all international trade. This measure, known as the Embargo Act, gave the Federalists some substantial ground of attack upon the Democrats, and the commercial interests, which were paralyzed by the embargo, united in assailing this Democratic measure.

It is a proverb that power always strives to perpetuate and aggrandize itself. The Democrats, who had been unyielding strict constructionists, being strongly entrenched in the government, opened the way to public improvements by passing a law for the construction of a national road from Maryland to Ohio. And Jefferson,

who knew that there was no constitutional warrant for the exercise of this power, in his message, December 1, 1806, recommended an amendment to the Constitution authorizing the expenditure of the surplus revenues on roads, canals, and education.

Another memorable event in Jefferson's administration was the suppression of the Algerine pirates. Decatur's bold and brilliant campaign was followed by a treaty of peace signed between the Barbary States and this country at Tripoli in 1805.

In 1807, through Fulton's invention, steam was first applied to the navigation of rivers.

Jefferson, having declined a third term, retired to private life in 1808, crowned with honors, and happy in the prosperity of his country.

In 1807, nominations for President and Vice-President were made by Congressional caucus. Pinckney and King were again nominated by the Federalists.

The Congressional Democratic caucus nominated James Madison to succeed Mr. Jefferson as President, and re-nominated Mr. Clinton for the Vice-Presidency. Nominations had not yet attained the inflexible and imperative character which afterwards attached to them. George Clinton, of New York, received six votes for President; all of the other Democratic electors (122) voted for Madison. Pinckney polled the full Federal strength (47 votes). Of the Democratic candidates for Vice-President, Clinton received 113 votes. James Monroe, through the influence and power of the Randolph faction, received 3 votes; and John Langdon of New Hampshire received 9 votes. Rufus King received the full complement of Federalist votes (47).¹ Notwithstanding this small break in the

¹ Electoral votes for Madison for President and George Clinton for Vice-President were: New York, 13; New Jersey, 8; Pennsylvania, 20; Maryland, 9; Virginia, 24; North Carolina, 11; South Carolina, 10; Georgia, 6; Kentucky, 7; Tennessee, 5; but Vermont, 6; and Ohio, 3, voted for

Democratic lines Madison and Clinton were elected; and came into office with an overwhelming party majority behind them in each branch of Congress. In the Senate there were 24 Democrats to 11 Federalists; in the House 95 Democrats to 46 Federalists.

During the last half of his term, there were 30 Democrats to 6 Federalists in the Senate; and 105 Democrats to 36 Federalists in the House.

Madison did not have a very vigorous constitution with which to enter upon life's duties; and of course it was not strengthened by his close and intense application to study and work. At college he slept but three hours a day in order to accomplish in one year the curriculum of two. And while in the Constitutional convention and in Congress, he is said to have done more work than any of his colleagues, and the work was well and thoroughly done. His indefatigable industry and earnest patriotism sustained him in his vigilant and judicious efforts to frame an acceptable and enduring Constitution. His studies, thoughts, and efforts in this regard were so incessant and effective that he received the immortal honor of being designated as "the Father of the Constitution." He was thoroughly familiar with English constitutional law, and had the sagacity to know how to apply its general principles to the new-born nation. He set up no claim to oratory,—so-called,—but he was a close, clear, and logical reasoner. His style was pure, perhaps too stately and Addisonian. His manner was mild and gentle. He

Madison, but did not vote for Clinton—Madison total, 122; Clinton total, 113.

For Pinckney for President and Rufus King for Vice-President: New Hampshire, 7; Massachusetts, 19; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 9; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 2; North Carolina, 3—total, 47.

Six votes of New York were cast for Geo. Clinton for President; 3 of them for Jas. Madison for Vice-President; and 3 for James Monroe for Vice-President.

For John Langdon of New Hampshire: Vermont, 6; Ohio, 3—total, 9.

always wanted to persuade and convince, and he knew that it could not be accomplished by taunts, sneers, and ridicule, or by vituperation and misrepresentation. The great work of framing the Constitution being completed, he continued vigorously working to secure its adoption. He wrote twenty-nine of the essays in the *Federalist*; and in many other ways contributed his full share in popularizing and securing the adoption of the Constitution. Having himself made concessions in order to secure harmony and unity, he could appeal to his fellow-citizens to waive their objections.

Upon his entrance on his public career, he sought to elevate routine politics by refusing to solicit votes, by refusing to treat the voters, and by refusing to use any of the arts or artifices usual in electioneering.

He showed how fully he was imbued with the spirit of civil and religious freedom, when, in the Virginia Legislature, in 1776, he brought in and carried through a Bill of Rights.

Jefferson was Madison's sincere and constant friend. As his Secretary of State, the mutual confidence and friendship was firmly cemented. Madison has been called Jefferson's "Shield-bearer"; but he was far more than that. He bore his own shield and battle-axe and lance, and did a hero's part side by side with Jefferson in cementing the Union, and in making impregnable the bulwarks of freedom.

With Madison's coming into office, the Democratic strength in Congress was somewhat impaired; but in the popular branch it continued to grow throughout his terms. The eleventh Congress was divided thus: Senate, 24 Democrats, 10 Federalists; House, 95 Democrats, 46 Federalists.

In the twelfth Congress, 30 Democrats, 6 Federalists in the Senate; 105 Democrats, 36 Federalists in the House.

During Madison's second term, he had a very substantial majority of Congress to support him. The thirteenth Congress contained 27 Democrats and 9 Federalists in the Senate; 115 Democrats and 67 Federalists in the House.

On March 4, 1809, Madison was inaugurated. As a legacy from the Jefferson administration, he found the non-intercourse act in operation. But the British Minister, Erskine, informed the President that England had rescinded the offensive orders given to the navy. Influenced thereby, a special session of Congress was convened, and the non-intercourse act was suspended so far as it related to England. But Great Britain repudiated the assurance of Erskine, and recalled him. Thereupon the President proclaimed the revival of non-intercourse; and it was approved by Congress. The feeling against Great Britain was so aggravated by this apparent double dealing, and by the action of Erskine's successor, that Congress requested the President to recognize him no longer. This was passed by a party vote, there being in the Senate 30 Democrats and 6 Federalists; and in the House 105 Democrats to 36 Federalists.

France was so wily as to create the impression that she had withdrawn her offensive decrees, and as a result all the indignation and anger of the United States was directed towards Great Britain. The feeling was so hot and intense that war or no war was made an issue in the Congressional elections. England continuing her depredations upon our commerce, and her outrageous seizure of seamen on our ships, war could no longer be averted. Madison sought to avoid it, but the national honor was so wounded, and the public feeling was so high, that Congress declared war on June 18, 1812. Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun were the recognized leaders of the war party. The Democratic party was committed to the measure by a vote of 98 to 43. The army was cursed

then, as afterwards, with political generals, and defeat after defeat ensued until soldiers were put at the head of the army. In the navy, better results were achieved, because political officers were eliminated.

The Federalists now became the Peace party; and in New England, where they were strongest, there was a dangerous opposition to the policy of the government. The Governors of Massachusetts and Rhode Island refused to allow their militia to leave their States. In this condition of affairs the election of 1812 came on. Madison received 128 votes, and De Witt Clinton, a Democrat, who was supported, without having been nominated, by the Federalists, received 89 votes. For Vice-President, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts received 131 votes, and Jared Ingersoll of Pennsylvania, a Federalist, received 86 votes.¹

In the thirteenth Congress, to greet Mr. Madison at his entrance upon his second term, there were 27 Democrats and 9 Federalists in the Senate; and 115 Democrats and 67 Federalists in the House. In the fourteenth Congress there were, in the Senate, 26 Democrats and 12 Federalists; in the House 122 Democrats, and 61 Federalists. A dangerous majority; but no schism or discord ensued therefrom, as often happens.

Louisiana was admitted in 1812, and the fourteenth Congress stood: 26 Democrats, 12 Federalists in the Senate; 122 Democrats, 61 Federalists in the House.

¹ Electoral votes for Madison for President: Vermont, 8; Pennsylvania, 25; Maryland, 6; Virginia, 25; North Carolina, 15; South Carolina, 11; Georgia, 8; Kentucky, 12; Tennessee, 8; Ohio, 7; Louisiana, 3—total, 128.

In addition to the above, Elbridge Gerry for Vice-President received from New Hampshire, 1; Massachusetts, 2,—making his total 131.

For De Witt Clinton: New Hampshire, 8; Massachusetts, 22; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 9; New York, 29; New Jersey, 8; Delaware, 4; Maryland, 5—total, 89.

For Vice-President, Ingersoll received 1 less from New Hampshire, 2 less from Massachusetts,—making his total 86.

The war continued with varying fortunes. The opposition in New England, commercial rather than political, was still earnest.

On December 14, 1814, there was held in Hartford, Connecticut, a convention of delegates from the New England States, which sat behind closed doors. They recommended the legislatures to pass laws to prevent the conscription of citizens, etc. That section of the country was bitterly opposed to the existing war with Great Britain. The men prominent in the Hartford convention had been active Federalists. In 1804 and 1809 they were known as "The Essex Junto," and had discussed the advisability of dissolving the Union. It was therefore not without grounds that the Hartford convention and the then Federal party were denounced as disloyal. An intense feeling of patriotic indignation was aroused, but peace coming with Jackson's brilliant victory at New Orleans calmed the temper of the people, and no legal proceedings were instituted.

In August, 1814, the British sacked and burned the city of Washington — an act of vandalism unjustified by the laws of war or decency. On January 8, 1815, the battle of New Orleans was fought and won by Gen. Andrew Jackson with six thousand undisciplined troops, over General Pakenham with twelve thousand veterans. The news of this sudden and decisive victory spread the wildest enthusiasm in its slow progress through the country. American manhood and bravery had been vindicated, and we could look any nation in the face without a blush. Strength courageously displayed commands respect. It was then definitely settled that our flag was to be honored everywhere.

It is true that the treaty of peace negotiated in Ghent, before the battle of New Orleans (but of which there was as yet no knowledge on this side of the ocean), made no mention of one of the chiefest causes of irritation leading

to the war—the search of our ships and seizure of seamen. England did not formally abandon her claim to exercise this asserted right. But it was felt that the question was settled forever without a treaty stipulation. And so it was proved.

All classes and sections were rejoiced that peaceful avocations could be resumed, even though accompanied with some political contentions. But these were rather incidental. The Federalists had as a party been dying a slow death since 1800, and soon they were swept out of existence by the storm of popular enthusiasm. They had no patronage to sustain their adherents, and there were no longer any great principles involved to retain the conscientious and zealous. The Democrats had modified their strict-construction views, and there were but slight differences upon the theory, or at least upon the practical application, of the tariff. And their opposition to the war was so unpopular that the party dissolved by general consent. Some crossed the dim line of division and became Democrats. Some stood aloof in an expectant attitude, waiting for they knew not what. And a new generation of statesmen was coming upon the stage. We have seen that Henry Clay warmly supported Mr. Madison's administration in its war measures, and he continued to be a faithful adherent.

The war with England, and with the Indians in the northwest, had caused a severe strain upon the finances of the country; and as a measure of relief a bill was introduced to charter a National Bank. The facility with which a party and its leaders can change their views upon public questions will be appreciated when it is remembered that in 1808 and in 1811 the Democrats had opposed and defeated the effort to renew the bank charter of 1791. To be sure it was defeated by a majority of only one vote. But the most of the party and the President himself were hostile to the measure.

34 *POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES*

In 1815, A. J. Dallas, Secretary of the Treasury, recommended the creation of a National Bank to relieve the country from the terrible condition to which its finances had been reduced by the war with Great Britain and with the Indians. A bill chartering such an institution was passed January 20, 1815; but it was vetoed by Mr. Madison, on the ground that it would not accomplish the necessary relief.

But in 1816, the Democrats, still having an immense majority in Congress, passed, and the President signed, a bill chartering the bank for twenty years.

This charter authorized a capital of \$35,000,000, of which the United States Government was to subscribe \$7,000,000; and the bank was to commence business when \$8,400,000 of additional capital should be paid in.

Madison, following the lead of Jefferson, was opposed to indiscriminate removal from office merely because of political affinities. He went so far as to say that the wanton removal of meritorious officers would subject the President to impeachment. These two were advanced civil-service reformers. At first their policy was not questioned; then it was repudiated; and later still became a subject of great contention in both political parties.

In 1816, James Monroe was nominated for President, and Daniel D. Tompkins of New York, for Vice-President, by the Democrats. The Federalists supported Rufus King for President, but scattered their votes for Vice-President. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware alone chose Federalist electors. The vote stood 183 for the Democrats and 34 for the Federalists.¹

¹ Electoral votes for Monroe for President and Tompkins for Vice-President: New Hampshire, 8; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 8; New York, 29; New Jersey, 8; Pennsylvania, 25; Maryland, 8; Virginia, 25; North Carolina, 15; South Carolina, 11; Georgia, 8; Kentucky, 12; Tennessee, 8; Ohio, 8; Louisiana, 3; Indiana, 3—total, 183.

The majority in Congress was equally emphatic. In the fifteenth Congress there were 34 Democrats to 10 Federalists in the Senate; in the House there were 128 Democrats to 57 Federalists. In the next—the sixteenth Congress—in the Senate were 36 Democrats, 10 Federalists; in the House, 145 Democrats, 42 Federalists.

In 1816, Indiana became a State of the Union. In 1818 Illinois and in 1819 Alabama were added to the sisterhood.

In this year (1819) Missouri sought for Congressional sanction to form a State government. The question of slavery had been a troublesome one in framing the Constitution. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and other eminent Southern men did not favor the institution; but they recognized the great difficulty of getting rid of it, and of so treating it as to make it least obnoxious to their Northern friends. Concessions were made on both sides, the Constitution was put into effect, and friction in regard to slavery was avoided until its extension in Missouri brought up the ugly issue, which was to be argued over and fought over for many years until washed out in blood. Upon the first application of Missouri it was defeated, or delayed.

In 1819, Florida was acquired from Spain by the United States in exchange for Texas, which had been claimed as a part of the Louisiana purchase, and which thirty years later was again to come under the Stars and Stripes.

In 1820, Congress was again confronted with the application of Missouri to become a State. Maine applied

For Rufus King for President: Massachusetts, 22; Connecticut, 9; Delaware, 3—total, 34.

Jas. E. Howard of Maryland for President: Massachusetts, 22—total, 22.

Jas. Ross of Pennsylvania for President: Connecticut, 5—total, 5.

Jas. Marshall of Virginia for President: Connecticut, 4—total, 4.

R. C. Harper of Maryland for President: Delaware, 3—total, 3.

for admission at the same time. In the House the Maine Bill was passed; the Missouri Bill was also passed, but, by a sectional vote, a proviso was inserted prohibiting slavery. In the Senate this proviso was stricken out; the two bills were united in that shape, and passed the Senate. The House rejected the joint bills, and there was a deadlock. The result was a compromise,—ever after famous as "the Missouri Compromise,"—by which both States were admitted; but it was enacted that slavery should forever be prohibited in all of the rest of the national domain north of $36^{\circ} 31'$.

To Mr. Clay belongs the chief credit of effecting this amicable adjustment. Other men of conservative views aided, but Clay was the genius who inspired the measure and carried it through. He was Speaker of the House, and had already attained an eminent position as an earnest advocate for a protective tariff, for a general system of internal improvements, for the policy of taking the South American republics under the protective wing of the United States. He was an eloquent orator, and had a very attractive personality. His natural gifts and his acquirements marked him for a leader, and he was now laying the foundations upon which to build a new party.

The quadrennial election came on with the country peaceful and prosperous, and with party lines obliterated. In fact there was but one party.

Monroe received all of the electoral votes but one (three of the electors had died before the ballot was taken), and his colleague on the ticket, Daniel D. Tompkins, all but fourteen. This was the high-water mark of the Democratic-Republican party, and the entire elimination of the Federalists as an organized body.¹

¹ Electoral votes for Monroe—all the votes cast from all of the States except one from New Hampshire—total, 231.

One of the electors for each of the States, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and

Monroe commenced his second term with 41 Democrats and 7 Federalists in the Senate; 129 Democrats and 58 Federalists in the House. He closed it with 41 Democrats and 7 Federalists in the Senate; 141 Democrats and 72 Federalists in the House.

In addition to the original lines of division, there had been certain side issues, as the embargo, the war of 1812, as already stated, upon which the existing parties took sides. There never had been any formal proclamation of principles, such as has since been known as a platform, by either party. The declaration of the leading men upon questions of domestic and foreign policy had been accepted by their respective followers as a sufficient and satisfactory creed.

As has been shown, and as will further appear, their views were not iron-clad; they could expand and contract. It will be remembered that in 1806 an act was passed for the construction of a national road from Maryland to Ohio, to facilitate the tide of emigration that was flowing westward, and to accommodate the rapidly increasing trade being developed thereby. In 1821 a bill

Mississippi, having died before the electoral college met, reduced the vote to that extent.

John Quincy Adams, the opposing candidate for President, received from New Hampshire 1—total 1.

For Vice-President, Tompkins received the same votes that were cast for Monroe, except 8 less in Massachusetts, 4 less in Delaware, and 1 less in Maryland,—making his total 118.

Rich. Stockton of New Jersey received from New Jersey 8—total, 8.

R. G. Harper of Maryland received from Maryland 1—total, 1.

Dani. Rodney of Delaware received from Delaware 4—total, 4.

There was some contention over the right to count the votes of Missouri; it being claimed that Missouri was not a State. This led to the passage of a law by the Senate, April 19, 1824, providing that, when a vote or votes of any State should be objected to in the joint session, the Houses should separate, and vote in their respective chambers to count or not count such vote. If both Houses agreed not to count, the votes should be excluded; if one House voted to count, the vote should be counted. The House failed to pass this law and left the question open for future trouble.

was passed for the preservation of this road, but it was vetoed upon the ground that "Congress do not possess the power, under the Constitution, to pass such a law." Mr. Monroe regretted this want of power, and recommended that the Constitution be amended in this respect, and he subsequently approved an act appropriating \$30,000 to make surveys for certain roads and canals. Other measures looking to internal improvements were defeated in Congress in 1822.

Mexico's and Spain's South American colonies had thrown off their allegiance to their mother country, and were successfully struggling to maintain their independence. Spain alone was powerless to subjugate them. It was believed that the so-called "Holy Alliance" of European powers was about to come to the aid of Spain.

In August, 1823, Mr. Canning suggested to Mr. Rush, the Minister from the United States, that the two governments might co-operate with reference to South American matters. Soon thereafter, Canning, in a "private and confidential" note, repeated and urged his suggestion. Mr. Rush was without authority to bind his government, but the two ministers agreed upon the status of affairs and the importance of a joint declaration. But Mr. Rush pointed out the policy of the United States in avoiding European entanglements. Accordingly he referred the matter to his own government.

Monroe sent the letters to Jefferson, and asked his advice. On October 24, 1823, Jefferson wrote that "we should never suffer Europe to intermeddle with Cis-Atlantic affairs." This was in accordance with the views expressed in one of his messages when President. In his letter to Monroe he thought the disposition of Great Britain should be encouraged. He added, "as it may lead to war, the declaration of which requires an Act of Congress, the case should be laid before them at their first meeting."

On December 2, 1823, Monroe, referring to the proposition of Russia and Great Britain to settle the north-western boundary disputes, said :

"In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American Continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for further colonization by any European power."

He said the United States had no intention of interfering in any European war, or with recognized colonies; that the United States would not view with indifference "an attempt by any nation of Europe to reduce an independent nation of North or South America to the condition of a colony," and that such attempts would be dangerous to our peace and safety. This became historic as the "Monroe Doctrine," and has since been continued, and perhaps misconstrued beyond its original thought. But the fundamental idea is religiously held by all the people of the United States. Inasmuch as Great Britain, in the correspondence between Canning and Rush, had expressly disclaimed any intention of acquiring any of the South American possessions, and was willing, even eager, to unite with us in preventing interference by other powers, it is not probable that any trouble will arise between these two countries on that question, although Great Britain's practices have not always been in accord with her theories. But it is hardly prudent to predict that there may not be other international controversies on the subject, especially in our new colonial policy in the east. If the establishment of monarchical institutions in our vicinity endangers the Republic, it must be equally true that republican governments

planted in the far east will endanger monarchical institutions there.

There has been considerable controversy as to whom belongs the credit of originating the Monroe Doctrine. Mr. Sumner claimed it for Canning. But it has already been shown that Jefferson, about twenty years earlier, suggested the doctrine in his message to Congress. Further, in July, 1823, John Quincy Adams told the Russian minister that "we should assume distinctly the principle that the American Continents are no longer subject for any new European colonial establishments." Adams was, at the time, Monroe's Secretary of State, and hence his mouthpiece in speaking of foreign affairs. So it is clear that Jefferson initiated the idea, and Monroe made it a direct and bold practicality.

In 1824 the constitutional construction pendulum swung more freely. Acts were passed for surveys for a system of national canals.

Monroe's second term has been characterized as "the era of good feeling." Our foreign relations were amicable; domestic peace and prosperity prevailed; old political animosities were buried; and while there were some evidences of disintegration in the Democratic party, the only political organization extant, there would be no schismatic upheaval or violent rupture. And so Mr. Monroe happily closed his administration. He had had an active, useful, and eventful career. He had been a soldier in the Revolutionary army, twice Governor of Virginia, a Senator in the first Federal Congress, Minister to France, to England, to Spain, Secretary of State and of War, and President of the United States for eight years. Energy, honesty, simplicity, and patriotism were his dominant qualities. He was not a public speaker. His enduring fame rests upon the record of untiring, faithful, and able administrative labors. The simplicity, modesty, and thorough Americanism of Monroe were

well illustrated when, after his Presidency, he retired to his home in Virginia, was elected a justice of the peace, and cheerfully discharged the duties of that humble office, conscious that he was still serving his country.

In 1824, there being but one party, the contest was almost purely personal. An attempt to revive the system of making nominations by the Congressional caucus had failed, and this year witnessed a race "free for all."

The result of the vote for President was:

Andrew Jackson	99
John Quincy Adams.....	84
W. H. Crawford.....	41
Henry Clay.....	37 ¹

John C. Calhoun had a majority for Vice-President over five competitors, and was, of course, elected. But, there having been no election, by the electors, for President, the House of Representatives was again called on to make the election. The Democrats, who adhered to the candidates endorsed by the people, had a large majority in the House; but as the vote had to be cast by States, each State having a single vote, and its direction being determined by a majority of the Representatives thereof, John Quincy Adams was chosen. Thus a second time a President was chosen by the House of Representatives. The Anti-Jackson men took the name of

¹ The electoral votes for Jackson were: New York, 1; New Jersey, 8; Pennsylvania, 28; Maryland, 7; North Carolina, 15; South Carolina, 11; Indiana, 5; Illinois, 2; Tennessee, 11; Louisiana, 3; Mississippi, 3; Alabama, 5—total, 99.

The States voting for Adams were: Maine, 9; New Hampshire, 8; Vermont, 7; Massachusetts, 15; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 8; New York, 26; Delaware, 1; Maryland, 3; Louisiana, 2; Illinois, 1—total, 84.

The electoral votes for Crawford were: New York, 5; Delaware, 2; Maryland, 1; Virginia, 24; Georgia, 9—total, 41.

Electoral votes for Clay were: New York, 4; Kentucky, 14; Ohio, 16; Missouri, 3—total, 37.

National Republicans, which was soon changed to Whig. At this time the Whig party came into existence.

Clay's friends in the House having united with the followers of Adams, and thus secured the election of the latter,—and, upon his inauguration, Adams having appointed Clay Secretary of State,—it was openly charged that there had been a corrupt bargain between the two. Impugning the motives of public men is one of the most common, and usually one of the most baseless, attacks to which they are subjected. It is just as easy, and quite as reasonable, to believe that Clay, finding his own election impossible, threw his strength to Adams in preference to Jackson, and that Clay's recognized abilities at once commended him to Adams as one admirably qualified to fill the position of Secretary of State. But the scandal had its believers, and left its effect.

In the House 13 States voted for Adams, 7 for Jackson, and 4 for Crawford. The ballot was secret, and it was not known how the various States voted.¹

Adams had had an extensive and varied experience in public affairs. From 1794 to 1801 he was Minister to the Netherlands and to Prussia under the Federalist administration. From 1803 to 1808 he was a United States Senator as a Democrat. From 1809 to 1817 he was Minister to Russia as a Democrat. Then he became Secretary of State under Monroe. When defeated for a second term as President, he was elected in 1831 to the House of Representatives, and continued to serve in that body until his death in 1848.

¹ The electoral votes for Jackson were: Maine, 1; New York, 20; Pennsylvania, 28; Maryland, 5; Virginia, 24; North Carolina, 15; South Carolina, 11; Georgia, 9; Alabama, 5; Mississippi, 3; Louisiana, 5; Tennessee, 11; Kentucky, 14; Ohio, 16; Indiana, 5; Illinois, 3; Missouri, 3—total, 178.

For Adams: Maine, 8; New Hampshire, 8; Vermont, 7; Massachusetts, 15; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 8; New York, 16; New Jersey, 8; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 6—total, 83.

He was a man of distinguished abilities, and was conscientious and devout. But he was cold, irritable, austere, and repellent. He was a somewhat exaggerated type of the Puritan his father had been.

The peculiar political condition of the country and the circumstances attending his election placed him in an embarrassing situation. The offices were filled with Democrats, his own party affiliates; hence he could not make removals, and thus he lacked patronage—that efficient means of securing a following. But, in connection with Clay, Webster, and others, he laid the foundation of a new party, based on a protective tariff and a general system of internal improvements. He recommended both in his inaugural address and in his first message to Congress. We have seen that the Democrats were no longer as rigid constructionists as at first. But it is one thing to approve or acquiesce in a measure fathered by one's own party leaders, and quite a different thing to be called on to support the same measures under the championship of one's adversaries. And there was now a growing hostility between Adams and his friends upon one side, and the Jackson Democrats on the other.

Adams had been friendly to Jackson, and wanted him to be Minister to Mexico. But this was before Jackson became a prominent candidate for the Presidency. The suspicious disposition of Adams had caused him to distrust Crawford, a colleague in Monroe's Cabinet, and others who might stand in the way of his laudable ambition.

But he was elected, and naturally aspired to a second term; all of his predecessors, except his father, having received this mark of public favor. Some of the elements of opposition have been indicated, and others developed as his administration progressed. When he became President the Senate was composed of 38 Democrats and 10 Whigs, and the House of 134 Democrats and 79 Whigs.

Calhoun, now Vice-President, John Randolph, and Martin Van Buren, with Crawford and Jackson, were a strong adverse array. As there were no matters of special interest during Adams's term, much time, on both sides, was given to rival schemes and combinations for the future.

Indifference, or even dissatisfaction with domestic affairs, are forgotten when a diversion is presented by a popular and successful foreign policy. But Adams was unfortunate in not being able to develop such policies.

The Panama Congress was a pet measure of Mr. Adams. Perhaps it was an ingenious device to arouse the patriotic ardor of the people, and to rally round him, as the great promoter of the glory and dignity of the United States, those who had become lukewarm in his support, and even those openly hostile. The project was to assemble at Panama representatives from the Spanish-American states, and to form a league, with the United States at its head, for commercial and political purposes, and to aid in maintaining the Monroe Doctrine. But the Monroe Doctrine thus to be maintained was emasculated, "each State to guard, by its own means, its own territory from European colonization." The project was debated in the Senate with considerable heat, and proved to be a boomerang, doing Mr. Adams more harm than good.

And by a disagreement with England, all our West India trade was lost. So it came about that the twentieth Congress contained 11 Adams and 37 Anti-Adams Senators; 85 Adams and 128 Anti-Adams Representatives. The parties are thus designated because almost all were nominally Democrats. Some one, writing of the status of affairs, has said that the opposition to Adams in Congress, from a minority, in 1827, became a large majority; "a state of things which had never before occurred under the Government of the United States."

This thing, then so astonishing, became quite customary in later years.

Notwithstanding the fact that Jackson had a plurality of the popular, as well as of the electoral votes, he was, as has been stated, defeated by the House of Representatives. His admirers and supporters determined that their desire to honor "the hero of New Orleans" should not be thwarted a second time. And at the next election Jackson's majority was overwhelming.

The election of Jackson was a departure from the traditions and precedents which had hitherto prevailed. The other Presidents had been of the educated and polished school of statesmen. But Jackson inaugurated a *régime* of pure democracy. Reared in simple and rustic habits, he was emphatically of the people; and the acquisition of neither fame, station, nor power caused a departure from the homely ways of border life. He smoked his cob pipe in the White House with the same indifference to environment as when a log cabin was his home.

Jackson was plain, sturdy, courageous, self-reliant, and patriotic. He was unflinchingly honest and sincere; affected neither by prospect of personal gain nor dread of personal loss; not swerved a hair's breadth by cajolery or intimidation. His sobriquet, "Old Hickory," fitly typified his mental and physical make-up. He had spells of violent passion, which was not always restrained by his judgment. His sympathies were always and entirely with "the common people." This basic element of his character may account for his instinctive and violent hostility to every form of class assumption, or claim for class or special consideration; and hence to the growth of monopolies and of corporate power.

With his backwoods soldiers he had won a decisive victory over the veteran troops of Great Britain. This was the second deliverance from England's domination; and its appeal to the grateful homage of the nation was

less potent than in the case of Washington, in so far as the differences of their surroundings and temperaments made the one calm, imperturbable, profoundly wise, and just; while the other was implacable, fiery, and resolute, whose policy was rather to crush than persuade.

When Jackson was inaugurated, the Senate stood 38 Democrats, 10 Whigs; the House, 142 Democrats, 71 Whigs.

As has been shown, the Whig party was an offshoot from the Democratic party. Naturally, whatever remained of the Federalists united with the new party in opposition to their long-time enemy. Some of the other elements which added to its strength have been indicated. Jackson's aggressive disposition drove still others to the new flag. He soon indicated his purpose to put a curb upon the internal improvement system, as well as upon the protective tariff policy. And he promptly announced his determination to throttle the National Bank.

During the first session of Congress after his inauguration, a bill was passed authorizing the United States to subscribe to the stock of the Maysville Turnpike Road Company. Jackson, swinging his party back to a strict construction of the Constitution, denied the power of the general government to engage in such enterprises, and vetoed the bill. Two other bills of a similar nature were passed at the close of the session. These the President refused to sign, and smothered by a "pocket veto." (If the President does not approve of a bill within ten days after its passage, it becomes a law without his signature, provided Congress is in session. Should Congress adjourn before the ten days expire, the bill dies. This withholding of his approval is called a "pocket veto.") In the next session large appropriations for improvements of harbors, rivers, and roads were passed by large majorities, and were approved by the President. The President, perhaps, did not wish to take issue with Congress

upon this matter, as he was husbanding his strength for a greater struggle.

When Congress assembled on December 6, 1830, the Senate was composed of 35 Democrats and 13 Whigs; the House had 130 Democrats and 83 Whigs. The President sent in his message, in which he violently attacked the National Bank. It will be remembered that this institution was incorporated in 1816, with a twenty-year lease of life. It must soon have its charter extended, or prepare to close its doors and wind up its affairs. As another election was approaching, the friends of the bank, marshalled by Mr. Clay, believed that Jackson would not venture to force the fight at that juncture. But they did not know their adversary. Jackson threw himself into the contest with as much dash and vigor as he had displayed at New Orleans. He believed that the immense power which the bank had acquired had been grossly abused, and was a great and growing menace to the Republic. Philadelphia was its headquarters; but it had twenty-five branches scattered through the country. It had \$7,000,000 of government money on deposit, in addition to \$6,000,000 of other depositors; with a note circulation of \$12,000,000, and a line of discounts amounting to \$40,000,000 which, in a few months was run up to \$70,000,000. Inasmuch as this bank received and disbursed all of the government's moneys, it was certainly incumbent upon the government officials to be absolutely certain of its solvency, as well as of its prudent and honest management; and this without reference to the validity of its charter. Jackson was adversely convinced upon all points, and recommended that Congress should direct the removal from the bank of the government's deposits. This Congress refused to do. He repeated this recommendation at the next session, with the further one that the stock in the bank belonging to the United States should be sold. Both propositions were voted down.

Instead, a bill to renew the bank's charter was passed, which the President vetoed July 10, 1832. The fall elections showed that the people were with the President. In the spring of 1833 Jackson instructed his Secretary of the Treasury to direct that no more government money should be deposited in the bank. The Secretary refused, and off went his official head. Roger B. Taney was appointed, and the President's order was obeyed. This has been designated as a "removal of the deposits"; but in point of fact there was no removal; merely a cessation of making any further deposits, and leaving the government balance in the bank to be withdrawn to pay current expenses as they should arise. It is scarcely fair to claim that Jackson's judgment was vindicated by the subsequent history of the bank, but that history is entirely suggestive. Failing to get a renewal of its charter from the Federal Government, the bank applied to and was granted a charter by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1836. In 1837 it suspended; then resumed for a short time; and closed finally in 1839, having sunk its entire capital.

Calhoun and Jackson had quarrelled; and in 1833 Calhoun's forces, united with the already Anti-Jackson men in the Senate, gave a majority. A vote of censure of the President for his action towards the bank was passed. Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Frelinghuysen, and Preston were some of the giants arrayed against the President. Unflinching in his reliance upon the support of the people, he would have stood alone, unwavering and undismayed. But a valiant cohort in the Senate rallied around him — Benton, Forsyth of Georgia, King of Alabama, Rives of Virginia, Silas Wright, were some of them. An artificial panic was started by the brokers and agents of the bank and hostile politicians to frighten Jackson into a reversal of his policy. But like a rock he stood unmoved amidst the storm. The resolution of

censure was passed by a vote of 26 to 20. The President sent a protest against this action, which the Senate declared was a breach of privilege, and talked of impeachment. So the fight went on. The House—the immediate representatives of the people—tabled the resolution of censure. Benton, with his characteristic earnestness, ability, and persistency, determined that the resolution of censure ought to be, and should be, expunged from the Journal of the Senate. From time to time he introduced several resolutions on the subject. In the meantime, the State legislatures were acting, instructing their Senators, and superseding those who were fixed in their hostility. Finally, on January 14, 1837, by a vote of 24 to 19 the resolution was ordered to be expunged; and it was done in the presence of the Senate and crowded galleries, amidst intense but suppressed excitement.

It was not until 1843, long after Jackson had retired to the Hermitage, that a further vindication of his course was enacted by Congress. While in command at New Orleans he had suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*; and for refusing to obey such writ he was fined \$1000 by Judge Hall. Jackson promptly paid the fine, but under protest, refusing to let friends pay it for him. After the passions of party had waned by his withdrawal from public life, this fine, with interest, was refunded by a vote of Congress.





CHAPTER II

DEMOCRATS—WHIGS—ANTI-MASONS—ABOLITIONISTS—
LIBERTY PARTY—FREE-SOILERS

1828-1852

IT is impossible for all men to think alike, if they think at all. This is especially true in republics, where thought is untrammelled, and where every citizen, having a share in the responsibility of government, is in duty bound to form an opinion as to what is demanded for the best interests of the country, and to ally himself with those holding similar views. The Federal party having died a somewhat lingering death, such of its old adherents who could not, or would not, join the Democrats, united with all who, for any reason, were opposed to the dominant party, and formed the Whig party. The new party, starting with the prestige and patronage of the Chief Executive, fought many battles, and suffered many defeats before it became extinct.

For several years a feeling of hostility to what was later called the slave power had been growing in some of the Northern States. This feeling was nurtured, not only by those who had strong convictions upon the abstract question, but also by those who were seeking ground to weaken, divide, and destroy the Democratic party. There was a long and bitter fight over the admission of Missouri as a State, recognizing slavery in its

constitution. The immediate issue was settled by a compromise, but the question remained to rankle, and ultimately to produce a fearful and bloody conflict.

In 1828 the Legislature of Tennessee placed Andrew Jackson in nomination for the Presidency. Several other State legislatures expressed a preference for Jackson. He entered the field as the Democratic candidate. His successful competitor of four years before, John Quincy Adams, was pitted against him, as the National Republican, or, more properly, the Whig, candidate. In the Congress of that day the members were classified as Democrats and Whigs. The result was a sweeping victory for Jackson, he having received 178 electoral votes, while Adams had but 83. The popular vote stood:

Jackson and Calhoun.....	647,231
Adams and Rush.....	509,597

In the contest of 1824, for the first time, there had been record made of the popular vote. And it was necessarily imperfect, for the reason that the electoral vote in eight of the thirty-four States was cast by their respective legislatures.

Coming back to the more consecutive order of events, 1832 witnessed the inauguration of a radical and important change in the method of selecting candidates. Delegates were chosen by the people to meet in national convention, and nominate the candidates to represent and be supported by the party sending such delegates. These conventions soon took to themselves the authority to promulgate a party platform, or declaration of the political principles and policy to which their candidates and their party stood pledged. National conventions, for the purposes indicated, became a recognized institution of the country from that year forward, and their action was generally accepted as having the binding force of statute law. As a rule, the platforms have been received with

as ready acceptance, within their limits, as the Thirty-nine Articles, or the Westminster Catechism. Loyalty to party has been demanded, as but little, if at all, less obligatory than allegiance to the government.

The first National convention was held in Philadelphia in September, 1830, for the purpose of organizing the Anti-Masonic party. It was based upon one idea, and that a narrow one; and hence its existence was ephemeral. One William Morgan, a citizen of Western New York, had disappeared mysteriously in 1826. It was alleged that he had been abducted by the Freemasons because he had revealed the secrets of the association. Constant agitation had aroused a bitter feeling in some localities, and an effort was made to magnify this into a national issue, by denouncing secret orders as hostile and dangerous to republican institutions. At the preliminary convention referred to, there were delegates from ten of the twenty-four States and from the then Territory of Michigan. The second, or first formal, convention of the Anti-Masons was held in Baltimore on September 26, 1831. Thirteen States were represented. William Wirt, of Maryland, was nominated for President, and Amos Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President.

The National Republican, or Whig, convention met in Baltimore on December 12, 1831, with delegates from seventeen States. The change of name was not yet fully effected, but the identity of the party could not be mistaken. Henry Clay was nominated for President, and John Sergeant of Pennsylvania for Vice-President.

Neither the Democrats, the Anti-Masons, nor the Whigs adopted any platform. But, at a ratification meeting held by the Whigs in Washington on May 11, 1832, in which many of the States were represented, resolutions were passed in favor of "adequate protection to American industry" as it then existed, in favor of "a

uniform system of internal improvements," and "against the spoils system."

The Democratic convention met in Baltimore on March 22, 1832. The call for this national convention originated in New Hampshire, and was cordially responded to, every State, except Missouri, sending delegates. Andrew Jackson was nominated by acclamation for President, and Martin Van Buren for Vice-President.

This convention was unmarked by any of the incidents inseparable from similar modern assemblages. There were no outside, or as are now called "booming" delegations; no flaunting of banners; no blaring of bands; no scattering of likenesses of the "favorite sons"; no display of badges or buttons; there was not even the studied oratory and accompanying enthusiasm of nominating speeches. But the earnestness of those in attendance was proved by their presence at great inconvenience; many of them having travelled hundreds of miles on horseback.

The convention adopted the rules reported by a committee appointed to prepare them. One of these rules provided that two thirds of the whole number of votes of the convention shall be necessary to constitute a choice in making nominations. At every national convention since, this has been reaffirmed as the law of the Democratic party. This setting aside of the doctrine that the majority should control has been defended upon the ground that otherwise the delegates from States dominated by the opposition party, aided by a sufficient number—although a small minority—from Democratic States, might force upon the convention a candidate to whom the great mass of the party was decidedly opposed. Jackson was considered so perfect an embodiment of Democracy that it was not thought necessary to make a formal declaration of political principles. The action of the convention upon this subject was somewhat unique.

A committee was appointed to prepare an address to the people. This committee reported that while they "fully agreed upon principles and sentiments" they considered an address unnecessary; and recommended the several delegations "to make such explanation by address, report, or otherwise, to their respective constituents, of the objects, proceedings, and result of the meeting as they may deem expedient."

While this looked like a palpable evasion of responsibility, and a shrewd method of avoiding troublesome issues, there was nothing in the condition of public sentiment to cause any fear of dissension.

At the election, on November 6, 1832, the Jackson electors received 687,502, the Clay, 530,189; all of the States, except Alabama and South Carolina, where the electors were chosen by the legislature, having had a vote by the people. The result in the electoral colleges gave Jackson a still more emphatic endorsement. The vote stood:

For President¹:

Andrew Jackson.....	219
Henry Clay.....	49
John Floyd (South Carolina's vote).....	11
William Wirt (Vermont's vote).....	7
Not voting.....	2

For Vice-President:

Martin Van Buren.....	189
John Sergeant of Pennsylvania.....	49

¹ The electoral votes for Jackson were: Maine, 10; New Hampshire, 7; New York, 42; New Jersey, 8; Pennsylvania, 30; Maryland, 3; Virginia, 23; North Carolina, 15; Georgia, 11; Alabama, 7; Mississippi, 4; Louisiana, 5; Tennessee, 15; Ohio, 21; Indiana, 9; Illinois, 5; Missouri, 4—total, 219.

For Clay were: Massachusetts, 14; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 8; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 5; Kentucky, 15—total, 49.

William Wilkins of Pennsylvania.....	30
Henry Lee of Massachusetts.....	11
Amos Ellmaker of Pennsylvania.....	7
Not voting.....	8

At this election 147 Democrats and 93 Whigs were returned to the House. The Senate stood, 30 Democrats and 18 Whigs.

At the next Congressional election for representatives, to serve during the last half of Jackson's second term, 144 Democrats and 98 Whigs were returned, the Senate standing 33 Democrats to 19 Whigs.

It may seem a little strange to latter-day Democrats that one of their great apostles should have been so zealous in upholding a protective tariff. But a review of the party's position on that question may seem still more strange.

Jackson's position on both the bank and this question, and his entire administration, solidified the party, and made it apparently invincible.

No doubt this emphatic and significant approval of his policy strengthened him for the great contests he had in hand. We have followed at some length, but by no means exhaustively, his struggle with and overthrow of the National Bank. This had lost him some friends; but he was to lose more, and they of his own section of the country, by his position on the tariff. But for every one so lost he probably gained ten.

The existing duties were highly beneficial to New England, but bore heavily upon the non-manufacturing States of the south. South Carolina threatened to nullify the law or secede from the Union. Jackson, it was said, made a counter and more effective threat: to hang Calhoun, who was an active promoter of nullification; and he swore a mighty oath that "the Union must and shall be preserved!"

The ordinance of nullification was to take effect on

February 1, 1833. On December 16, 1832, the President issued a proclamation to the people of South Carolina, pointing out the folly, danger, and even treason of their action, and declaring his unwavering purpose to execute the law. To show that he did not intend to limit himself to paper bullets, he sent a naval force to occupy Charleston harbor; and he furnished a guard to protect the customs officers in the discharge of their duty. The nullifiers yielded. At the next session of Congress, Mr. Clay reported a Compromise Tariff Bill, which for a time allayed the excitement on that subject.

But the war between the President and the Senate continued. Many of the President's nominations for office were rejected by that body; and an effort was made to limit his power of appointment. This, however, was not as successful as the more recent action of the Senate when Andrew Johnson was President.

Jackson acted very largely upon the principle afterwards promulgated by Marcy—"to the victors belong the spoils." There was no civil-service law; and he felt that, in view of the determined and obstinate opposition of his enemies, he should be surrounded by his supporters.

Notwithstanding the continued friction and turbulence, the country under Jackson's administration was marvellously prosperous. The locomotive had been introduced; coal had been discovered and utilized; newspapers had taken fresh and vigorous life; Bryant, Cooper, Irving, Hawthorne, Poe and Longfellow, Prescott and Bancroft, were founding an American school of literature. Public schools had been everywhere established.

In 1835 the national debt was paid off; and the surplus income of the government was divided amongst the States.

Arkansas was admitted to the Union in 1836, and Michigan in 1837.

Jackson's foreign policy was as vigorous and firm as his domestic policy. Other nations were taught to respect the United States. Legitimate claims, which had been neglected, were paid by France, Portugal, and other nations; and the young Republic held her head high amongst her sister nations. So it is not surprising that the party of Jackson enlisted the enthusiastic support of the masses of the people.

The Whigs seem to have been disheartened by the crushing defeat of 1832; and held no national convention preparatory to the election of 1836. Some of the State legislatures, conforming to a custom of former years, placed candidates in nomination. In this way William Henry Harrison of Ohio, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, and Willie P. Mangum of North Carolina were named for President, and John Tyler of Virginia, Francis Granger of New York, and John McLean of Ohio were named for Vice-President.

The Whigs in State convention at Albany, New York, February 3, 1836, adopted some resolutions which could scarcely be called articles of political faith, unless adherence to one man and hostility to another could be so construed. One of these resolutions denounced Martin Van Buren, and another eulogized General Harrison, and pledged him their support.

The Democrats of New York declared their belief in the self-evident truths enumerated in the Declaration of Independence; enlarged upon the natural rights of man, and his relations to society and government; and demanded the largest individual freedom consistent with public peace. They also declared their unqualified hostility to paper money, and to the creation of monopolies by legislation.

The National Democratic convention met in Baltimore May 20, 1836, and nominated Jackson's choice, Van Buren, for President; and Richard M. Johnson of

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Kentucky for Vice-President. Some of the disaffected Democrats put Hugh L. White, of Tennessee, in nomination.

An attempt was made at this convention to repeal the two thirds rule. In fact, the effort was successful by a small margin of votes; but, upon a reconsideration, the rule was readopted.

The result of the popular vote was:

For Van Buren	761,549
" Harrison.....	736,656

The electoral vote stood:

For Martin Van Buren	170
" Wm. H. Harrison	73
" H. L. White	26
" Dan'l Webster.....	14
" W. P. Mangum.....	11

For Vice-President:

Richard M. Johnson	147
Francis Granger	77
John Tyler	47
Wm. Smith, of Alabama.....	23 ¹

Van Buren's election did not evoke sufficient State pride to keep his party in line in New York. At the election of 1837 his forces were completely routed upon local issues.

In the same year (1837) the Anti-Masonic party was

¹ Electoral votes for Van Buren: Maine, 10; New Hampshire, 7; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 8; New York, 42; Pennsylvania, 30; Virginia, 23; North Carolina, 15; Louisiana, 5; Mississippi, 4; Illinois, 5; Alabama, 7; Missouri, 4; Arkansas, 3; Michigan, 3—total, 170.

For Harrison: Vermont, 7; New Jersey, 8; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 10; Kentucky, 15; Ohio, 21; Indiana, 9—total, 73.

For Daniel Webster: Massachusetts, 14—total, 14.

For Mangum: South Carolina, 11—total, 11.

For Hugh L. White: Georgia, 11; Tennessee, 15—total, 26.

galvanized into an appearance of life. Probably in the hope of deluding some of the voters this faction placed the prefix "Democratic" before its proper name. A convention was held on September 11th, in Washington. Only five States of the twenty-six were represented, but those who attended were, or declared themselves to be, "last ditch" men. They resolved that "we will persevere in our national and State organizations until secret oath-bound societies shall be prostrated throughout the Union." Thaddeus Stevens was a member of the National committee. As was, in later years, proved upon a wider field of action, he was bold, able, and not over-scrupulous in reaching a desired end. His party had elected the governor (Ritner) of Pennsylvania in 1835, but being defeated in their effort to re-elect him in 1838, they sought to secure control of the legislature by excluding Senators and members of the House elected to represent Philadelphia at the session opening in January, 1839. The constituents of these representatives, fired with indignation at the attempted outrage, gathered in Harrisburg to defend their rights. Governor Ritner, a well-meaning German, was panic-stricken, and was easily persuaded to call out the State militia with guns loaded with ball and buckshot. There was intense excitement, and imminent danger of a collision. But the resolute and unwavering stand of the civilians showed that they were not to be overawed or defrauded. At a critical juncture in the proceedings, Thaddeus Stevens, a member of the House, Charles B. Penrose, Speaker of the Senate, and T. H. Burrows, Secretary of the Commonwealth, the leaders of the conspiracy, took fright at the state of affairs they had brought about, escaped through a window from the Senate chamber, and "the Buckshot war" was ended; and so was the Anti-Masonic party.

In this same year (1837) the growing hostility to slavery was manifested by a convention held in Alton, Illinois.

Those opposed to the movement attended in such numbers that they were able to control the proceedings. A minority of the committee on resolutions reported against the right of Congress or the State governments to interfere with the institution of slavery; that the right to property in slaves was recognized by the Federal Constitution. This minority report was adopted. But the zealous Abolitionists were not to be suppressed. They met in a private and retired house, behind locked doors, and determined upon the formation of an anti-slavery party. To aid in propagating their views, a printing-press was purchased, and taken to the town. An angry and excited crowd attacked the warehouse where it was stored; one man was killed in the conflict with the defenders of the press; the warehouse was burned, and the printing press was destroyed. This was, perhaps, the first blood shed in a contest upon a question which was destined to spread desolation and death throughout the land.

Whether the closing of the National Bank and the opening of numerous State banks, all issuing an enormous amount of paper money, stimulated speculation to the danger point, and beyond, or from whatever cause, there was a fearful collapse; loans were called; a wild and disastrous panic ensued, so that Mr. Van Buren, upon his entrance to office, had to face a most threatening and gloomy outlook. Everywhere there were dire depression and grim ruin.

Congress was called to meet in special session, September 4, 1837. Distribution of the surplus revenues amongst the States ceased; \$10,000,000 of Treasury notes were authorized to be issued; merchants were not to be pressed upon their revenue bonds. The President recommended the establishment of an independent or Sub-Treasury. It passed the Senate, but was defeated in the House. It met the same fate at the regular session of December 4, 1837. It was finally passed in 1840, to

be repealed by the Whigs in 1841. But a bill to incorporate the Fiscal Bank of the United States as a substitute for the independent Treasury was vetoed. It was re-enacted in 1846, and became a part of the established fiscal system of the government.

During the Van Buren administration there was some readjustment of party lines. The Calhoun faction returned to their old allegiance; but many, influenced by the panic and its effects, thought any change would be an improvement. In the twenty-fifth Congress, which came in with Van Buren, there were 31 Democrats, 18 Whigs, and 3 Independents in the Senate; and 117 Democrats, 115 Whigs, and 10 Independents in the House. This illustrates how the tide had turned, and how strongly it was setting.

When Congress met, December 2, 1839, the House was almost evenly divided, not counting the representatives from New Jersey, in which State there was a contest; and the control of the House depended upon which set should be seated. The Whigs had certificates from the State government, and a *prima facie* right to the seats. Gross irregularities were charged in one of the counties, which if established would affect the entire delegation; for at that time the representatives from New Jersey were all voted for on a general ticket. Confusion and disorder prevented the organization of the House.

John W. Jones of Virginia was the Democratic candidate for Speaker; John Bell of Tennessee was nominated by the Whigs; 118 would elect. Jones received 113 votes, Bell 102, and 20 were scattered, there being bolters in both parties. The votes of the New Jersey Democratic claimants would have elected Jones, which fact probably, as much as the merits of the case, prolonged the contest, which was not decided until March, 1840, when the Democrats were admitted to seats. In the meantime, R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia—a Sub-Treasury Whig, or a Whig

with some Democratic proclivities — had been elected Speaker.

The establishment of the Sub-Treasury system, and the elimination of the government from all connection with banks, was perhaps the most notable event in the domestic policy of Van Buren's administration.

There was some trouble upon our northern frontier by reason of an attempt of some citizens of the United States to cross into Canada and aid in the rebellion then going on there. Van Buren prevented any breach of our neutrality, and England found no cause of complaint.

The "twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery" (so designated in the Republican platform)—did much to disturb the internal peace of the country. The Abolitionists were very busy preaching their crusade against slavery; and riots usually occurred wherever they held their meetings. Even those in the north who did not approve of slavery, felt that the compacts of the Constitution were sacred, and that agitation against the guaranteed rights of the South was culpable and tended to civil strife.

But petitions were sent to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, over which Congress had exclusive and absolute jurisdiction. A very angry debate ensued, the abstract question of slavery being in a measure dwarfed by the question of the right of the people to petition. Both Houses recognized the right of petition; but both by overwhelming votes declared against any interference with slavery where it existed.

In 1839 the conflict in Congress became more bitter. It was carried to the extent that many of the Southern representatives left the chamber after making most inflammatory speeches, in which dissolution of the Union was more than hinted at. But the time was not ripe, although these Southern hotheads found encouragement

in the words and votes of some of the Northern members. Amongst the most prominent anti-slavery agitators in Congress were John Quincy Adams, ex-President, and Caleb Cushing, who from being then ready to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia was in later years equally willing to have it extended in the Territories.

The Mormons, a religious sect collected and organized by one Joseph Smith, who claimed to be a prophet with a special revelation from on high, settled first at Kirtland, Ohio, in 1832, and built their first temple there in 1836. Afterwards they went to Missouri, and then removed to Illinois, where they were assaulted by a mob, and their prophet was shot. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," whether the faith be true or false. To escape persecution, and to have a free field to work out their destiny, the Mormons moved *en masse* to Utah; a place so remote and inaccessible that they neither disturbed nor were disturbed for many years.

Van Buren was a man of education and experience, having been Governor of New York, a Senator of the United States, Secretary of State under Jackson, and Vice-President. He was a shrewd and skilful politician. But the times and events were not propitious for engrafting himself in the affections of the American people, and he had but a single term as President.

Beginning with the year 1840, every Democratic convention made a formal declaration of the issues upon which they appealed to the people for support. And except in that year (1840) the Whig conventions did likewise. Reserving comments upon the salient features of these platforms, it may be well to give their general trend in historic order.

In 1840, the Democrats, following Jefferson's outline of principles, declared that the Federal Government was one of limited powers—limited by the terms expressed in the Constitution—and, hence, had no power to

incorporate a National Bank; and that the government's moneys should not be deposited in the banking institutions; that it had no power to carry on a general system of internal improvements; that it should not abridge the privilege of naturalization, nor the right of aliens to acquire land; that in levying duties, one interest should not be protected to the detriment of others.

Van Buren was nominated for re-election. But no one was named for Vice-President, because different States had "put in nomination different individuals," and it was deemed expedient "to leave the decision to their Republican fellow-citizens in the several States, trusting that before the election shall take place their opinions shall become so concentrated as to secure the choice of a Vice-President by the electoral college." The result of the election showed that even if opinion had been concentrated the candidate would have failed to be elected.

The Whigs thought their candidate needed no platform. He was the hero of a victory over the Indians at Tippecanoe. William Henry Harrison was made their standard-bearer. He was an upright, plain old man; he lived in a log cabin decorated with coonskins, and drank hard cider. With these elements to appeal to the masses, a vigorous campaign was opened. Immense mass-meetings were held; monster processions, miles long, in which coonskins, log cabins, and hard cider figured conspicuously, roused the people to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. He had been badly beaten in 1836 by his present antagonist. But then there was no such organized effort—in fact, there was no organized action. "Old Tippecanoe" was now the slogan; and stage thunder was tame compared to the uproar produced by skilful theatrical effects in the conduct of the campaign.

The Democrats tried to arouse a counter-enthusiasm by a song, reciting the achievement of Johnson, then Vice-President, a candidate for re-election, without formal

nomination. Glee clubs were a feature of this campaign. The song just alluded to had a couplet which ran:

"Heigh ho! rumpsey dumpsey!
Colonel Johnson killed Tecumseh."

But the tide was against them, and soon overwhelmed them.

This was the first of many nominations for expediency, and its success probably caused those which followed. Webster, Clay, and other really great men of the party had been pushed aside in order that the party might win. Harrison was not presented as the representative of any great principle; there had been no declaration of principle by the convention which nominated him. It was solely an effort to obtain power and patronage by adventitious circumstances, and it marked the development of that intense party spirit which made success the supreme consideration.

The Abolitionists, undismayed by the harsh treatment of their co-zealots in Illinois and elsewhere, no doubt stimulated by persecution for what they considered conscience' sake, held conventions in New York and resolved to organize a distinct and independent party. They nominated James Birney of New York for President, and Francis J. Lemoyne of Pennsylvania for Vice-President.

The result of this election was¹:

Harrison	1,275,017
Van Buren.....	1,128,702
Birney	7,059

¹ The electoral votes for Harrison were: Maine, 10; Vermont, 7; Massachusetts, 14; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 8; New York, 42; New Jersey, 8; Pennsylvania, 30; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 10; North Carolina, 15; Georgia, 11; Mississippi, 4; Louisiana, 5; Tennessee, 15; Kentucky, 15; Ohio, 21; Indiana, 9; Missouri, 4; Michigan, 3—total, 234.

For Van Buren were: New Hampshire, 7; Virginia, 23; South Carolina, 11; Alabama, 7; Illinois, 5; Missouri, 4; Arkansas, 3—total, 60.

Harrison's majority in the electoral college was still more emphatic. The vote stood:

Harrison.....	234
Van Buren.....	60

The result of the failure of the Democrats to concentrate their votes for Vice-President was shown by the returns, viz.:

John Tyler, Virginia.....	234
Richard M. Johnson, Kentucky.....	48
Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia.....	11
James K. Polk, Tennessee.....	1

The Whigs were destined not to reap the fruits of their victory, so far as carrying out their policy was concerned. General Harrison died a month after his inauguration, and Vice-President John Tyler became President. He turned his back upon the party which had elected him. It is a mooted question whether this was done because of his personal ambition to form a new party and secure his re-election, or from patriotic motives. The consciousness of possessing power should, and sometimes does, bring a realization of responsibilities which tend to make the possessors conservative. If they are conscientious, they will consider the public good rather than personal or partisan ends. However, it requires a degree of moral courage to abandon the men who have supported a successful candidate, and the party creed which they espouse.

Under the Harrison-Tyler administration, the classification of parties in Congress was as follows: In the twenty-seventh Congress there were 28 Whigs, 22 Democrats, and 2 Independents in the Senate. In the House there were 132 Whigs, 103 Democrats, and 6 Independents.

Florida and Texas were admitted in 1845, and Iowa in 1846, and the twenty-eighth Congress stood: Senate, 29 Whigs, 23 Democrats; and the House, 142 Democrats, 81 Whigs.

The Whigs repealed the Sub-Treasury law; and passed a bill to establish a National Bank. The first was signed; the second vetoed. A second National Bank Bill, understood to have been first submitted to the President, and to have secured his approval, was passed. It was also vetoed, greatly to the disgust and indignation of the Whigs and the corresponding elation of the Democrats.

In 1842, what was known as the "Little Tariff Bill" was passed by Congress. It merely extended, until August 11, the duties imposed by the Compromise Tariff of 1833, which, by its terms, was to expire June 30, 1842. President Tyler vetoed it on the ground that it was a violation of the Compromise of 1833, whereby protection was to cease after 1843. Soon thereafter another bill was passed, which was also vetoed, upon the additional ground that it provided for a distribution amongst the United States of the surplus revenue. The House censured the President and talked of impeachment. Tyler sent in a protest against the action of the House, which they refused to receive. In 1835 President Jackson had been censured by the Senate and sent a protest. Amongst those who voted for that censure, and against receiving the President's protest, were John Tyler, now President, and Daniel Webster, now Secretary of State. So "curses, like chickens, will come home to roost."

Another bill, omitting the objectionable clause, was passed and signed August 3, 1842. This act was sufficiently protective to secure the approbation of Henry Clay—the great champion of protection. Its passage aroused the hostile criticism of the English press; which is further evidence that it was a protective measure.

Senator McDuffie characterized it as "an act to *prevent* revenue."

The President had recommended appropriations for internal improvements in the west. Two bills were passed, one for the east and one for the west. The first was vetoed, the second was signed. This feud between the President and the Whigs in Congress continued until the end of Tyler's term.

When the campaign of 1844 opened, the tariff became an important issue. The Democratic National convention had reaffirmed the platform of 1840, which declared that no one interest should be protected to the detriment of others. The Whig platform declared for a tariff for revenue, and discriminations with special reference to the protection of domestic labor of the country. Although the Democratic platform did not pronounce *against* protection in the abstract, and the Whigs declared for a tariff for revenue with incidental protection — which had been the Democratic doctrine — yet in the canvass the Whigs were gaining adherents in the manufacturing districts by their strenuous advocacy of protection. To counteract this, the Democrats, in those districts, claimed that Polk was as good a tariff man as Clay. To give strength to this claim, Polk wrote a letter, on July 19, 1844, to John K. Kane of Philadelphia, in which he said: "I have heretofore sanctioned such moderate discriminating duties as would produce the amount of revenue needed, and at the same time afford reasonable incidental protection to our home industries. I am opposed to a tariff for protection *merely*, and not for revenue." This was practically the Whig platform, as it was also the Democratic doctrine.

Polk's speeches and votes fairly placed him as an opponent to the theory of protection. Yet his adroit letter may be justified by the casuistry of party politics; for many a time candidates and conventions have "kept the

word of promise to the ear, to break it to the hope." If he who is without sin is to cast the first stone, there will never be a St. Stephen in the political calendar.

In 1846 a new tariff bill, repealing that of 1842, was passed in the House by a vote of 115 to 93. In the Senate the vote was a tie,—Senator Jarnegin, Whig, not voting,—and its passage was secured by the casting vote of Vice-President Dallas. This was known as the Walker Bill. Its enactment caused a great deal of disaffection amongst the Democrats, who favored more protection, and no doubt contributed to the defeat of their party in 1848. Pennsylvania and New York had voted for Polk in 1844, but in 1848 they supported Taylor. Perhaps the change in Pennsylvania and New York may be otherwise accounted for,—by the craze for military heroes. "Rough and Ready" appealed strongly to this passion. In addition to this, Van Buren, running as the Free-Soil candidate, caused considerable defection in the Democratic ranks in New York.

The admission of Texas into the Union was a subject of hot discussion during this administration. Texas had severed her connection with and subjection to Mexico, and had for nine years successfully maintained her independence, which had been recognized by several European nations. Slavery was established within her borders; and for this reason, as well as because annexation to the United States would probably cause a war with Mexico over the disputed boundary line, the annexation was strongly opposed in the Northern States. Tyler favored the annexation. He was repudiated by his party, and failed to create a new one or to win the support of the Democrats. A "turncoat," from whatever cause, is apt to be despised by his former associates, and he seldom wins the confidence and respect of the other party. He may be applauded and encouraged by the party whose policy he is favoring. They will gladly accept the fruits

of the sacrifices he makes, but they are very reluctant to take him to their arms. Hence, at the close of his term, Tyler was retired to private life.

And yet it was scarcely just to call Tyler "a turn-coat." He had been a Democrat, thoroughly believing in State sovereignty, and was classed with the Whigs because he had opposed Jackson and fraternized with the Calhoun faction. Like Harrison, he was nominated for expediency, under the hope that he would carry with him many disaffected Democrats in the South.

The question of the annexation of Texas was the principal issue in the campaign of 1844. And yet the Whig platform was silent upon the subject. It is probable that they feared to openly oppose a measure which had aroused the national pride and enthusiasm. Almost any proposition to enlarge the national domain, to increase what may be considered as the power and glory of the Union, strikes a popular chord in the average American heart, and causes it to thrill with patriotic ardor. Thomas Corwin, a prominent Whig in Ohio, having said that if he were a Mexican he "would welcome the United States soldiers with bloody hands to hospitable graves," was denounced as a traitor; and those who opposed annexation, and war if need be, were characterized as enemies of their country.

The Democratic platform reaffirmed the resolutions of the convention of 1840, and added a declaration against the distribution amongst the States of the proceeds of the sales of public lands; and against taking the veto power from the President. They also declared that "our title to the whole of the Territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable—and the re-occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period are great American measures, which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union."

The Whig platform was a condensed summary of the party's creed—viz.: "A well regulated national currency; a tariff for revenue, and discriminations with special reference to the protection of domestic labor of the country; the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands; a single term for the Presidency," and general reform.

It will be observed that the only issue upon which the two parties fairly and squarely confronted each other was the minor one of the disposition of the proceeds of the public lands. The Whigs had evidently lost heart. Their recent victory had proved to be a fruitless if not a disastrous one.

The Abolitionists, who now called themselves the Liberty party, were as diffuse in their platform as the Whigs had been concise; but they were all one upon the subject of slavery, in its various phases, as violative of human brotherhood, the equality of rights as a revolting despotism, and the Fugitive Slave law as anti-Republican and dangerous to the liberties of the people, etc.

In the platform there was a bold declaration that moral laws are paramount to human laws. This was thereafter known as "the higher law" doctrine, and was denounced as destructive of the Constitution and subversive of all government.

They again nominated James G. Birney for President.

Henry Clay, who was almost idolized by the Whigs, was again their nominee; with Theo. Frelinghuysen as his colleague on the ticket.

Van Buren very naturally desired a renomination. Having had but one Presidential term, while all his Democratic predecessors had been twice elected, precedent was strongly in his favor. But he was opposed to the annexation of Texas. He was, moreover, handicapped by a factional fight in the party in his own State. This local contention bred discord for several years.

Some of the old "patroon estates" of New York were subject to a yearly rent of a few bushels of wheat, three or four fat fowls, or a day's work with horses and wagon. This relic of feudal times had become irksome, and the tenants refused further payment. Those resisting proclaimed a "boycott" (as it would have been called some years later); they, disguised as Indians, tarred and feathered the tenants who paid their rents, assaulted and even killed officers who served warrants upon them. Other depredations were committed, by which they acquired the name of "Barnburners." The other faction were called "Hunkers." Local feuds are always bitter. Partly because of this dissension, Van Buren was doomed, although he had the powerful support of Andrew Jackson.

Another minor and local event occurred during this administration, which had some political effect. In Rhode Island a property qualification was attached to the right of suffrage. The disaffected sought by force to change this feature of their government. This was called the Dorr rebellion. It was suppressed, and Dorr was imprisoned.

The contention in the Democratic convention had a singular *dénouement*, and inaugurated a new system of political strategy. Four horses were entered for the race, and each had its backers. Van Buren had a strong lead at the start, which he maintained until he passed the half-mile post. Then Cass went to the front; but on the home stretch a horse not known to be in the race came in like a cyclone, and won the prize. This was the first of "dark-horse" episodes in national conventions.

On the first ballot Van Buren had 143 votes, Cass 83, Johnson 84, Buchanan 4. On the seventh ballot Cass had 123, Van Buren 99, Buchanan 22, Johnson 21. On the next ballot commenced the stampede. Cass had 114, Van Buren 104; Buchanan and Johnson's forces abandoned their own standards and unfurled one bearing the

name of James K. Polk, and gave him 44 votes. On the ninth ballot Polk had 232, and was the nominee. An effort had been made in the interest of Van Buren to repeal, or rather to refuse to re-adopt, the two thirds rule; but it failed, and Polk secured the requisite number.

In order to placate New York, and in recognition of his conceded abilities, Silas Wright was nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot; but he peremptorily declined,—a case without a precedent, and without a repetition,—and George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania was selected to complete the ticket.

The result of the popular vote was¹:

Polk	1,337,243
Clay	1,299,068
Birney	62,300

Birney's vote showed how the anti-slavery sentiment was growing.

The electoral vote stood:

Polk	170
Clay	105

In the twenty-ninth Congress, at Polk's inauguration, there were 30 Democrats and 25 Whigs in the Senate, and one seat vacant. In the House there were 141 Democrats, 78 Whigs, and 6 classified as Americans.

Mexico claimed that the Nueces River was the boundary between her domain and Texas. The territory lying between the Nueces and Rio Grande was claimed by the

¹ The electoral votes for Polk were: Maine, 9; New Hampshire, 6; New York, 36; Pennsylvania, 26; Virginia, 17; South Carolina, 9; Georgia, 10; Alabama, 9; Mississippi, 6; Louisiana, 6; Indiana, 12; Illinois, 9; Missouri, 7; Arkansas, 3; Michigan, 5—total, 170.

For Clay were: Vermont, 6; Massachusetts, 12; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 6; New Jersey, 7; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 8; North Carolina, 11; Tennessee, 13; Kentucky, 12; Ohio, 23—total, 105.

United States as part of Texas, and the President ordered our troops to advance and occupy the disputed ground. This brought on a collision; and war ensued. Congress promptly responded to the President's war message, and voted \$10,000,000 to prosecute the contest.

During Polk's administration, this war was fought and won, in a series of brilliant achievements, wherein officers and privates displayed great valor. Conspicuous amongst those who acquired renown was Gen. Zachary Taylor, a plain, blunt soldier, who was baptized by the popular and characteristic cognomen of "Rough and Ready." By the treaty of peace with Mexico, February 2, 1848, an immense area was added to the national domain. In 1846 General Kearney had occupied New Mexico by a bloodless conquest. This territory, and also Upper California, were ceded to the United States by the treaty. The Gadsden purchase in 1853 still further increased our acquisitions from Mexico. In a portion of the newly acquired territory vast gold deposits were discovered, which caused the Pacific coast to be rapidly settled. But Polk's successful and, in a material sense, glorious administration, was disturbed by the increasingly troublesome question of the extension of slavery. In August, 1846, David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, offered in Congress an amendment or proviso to a pending bill to prohibit slavery in any territory which might be acquired. This was before peace had been concluded, and hence before Mexico had ceded to us the area stretching to the Pacific on the west, and to the Gila River on the south. "The Wilmot Proviso," as it was called, was defeated; but it provoked an angry debate in Congress and throughout the country. The South insisted that, having contributed their full share to the acquisition of the new territory, they were entitled to equal rights therein.

The struggle over this question grew more bitter year after year. An effort was made in 1847 to adjust the

matter by extending the Missouri Compromise line 36° 30' to the Pacific, so that slaveholding would be recognized south of that line, and prohibited north of it; but this did not settle the question. It came up again when the bill to organize a territorial government for Oregon without slavery was introduced; to which the Senate added an amendment extending the compromise line. This was finally defeated, and a free government for Oregon was established.

In 1848 Wisconsin was admitted to the Union.

In 1850 California was admitted.

During the last half of Polk's administration Congress was divided thus: Senate, 37 Democrats, 21 Whigs; House, 108 Democrats, 115 Whigs, 4 Independents. This preponderance of Whigs in the House, being largely made up of anti-slavery men, explains the disagreement of the two Houses upon the Wilmot Proviso, and the extension of the Missouri Compromise line. Yet in point of fact, Wilmot, the author of the proviso, was a Democrat; showing that hostility to the extension of slavery was permeating.

During the progress of the war with Mexico, this country was confronted with the grave possibility of a war with England over the northern boundary line of Oregon. The Ashburton treaty omitted to delineate this boundary. As a result, the land along the Columbia River was claimed by both countries. Flushed with the successful progress of our arms in Mexico, and buoyed up with the feeling that we were unconquerable, the Democrats declared defiantly for all of Oregon, "54° 40' or fight." But more prudent counsels prevailed; and 49° of north latitude was agreed on as the correct line by a treaty between the United States and Great Britain.

In the year 1846 a River and Harbor Bill was passed and vetoed. During the next session a similar bill was

passed and met a similar fate. The strict-construction theory had again asserted itself.

In 1848 the anti-slavery party took the new name of "Free-Soil Party," and adopted as its battle-cry the catching phrase: "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men." Its leaders ceased to be mere sentimentalists, content to register their protest against slavery. They became inspired with the hope that they might win in the approaching contest. To do so it was necessary to broaden their platform and attract those who were not willing to be limited to a single political or moral idea. While renewing their declarations against slavery and its extension, and against any further compromises therewith, they very adroitly threw lines, well baited, into both the Democratic and Whig waters, to catch what they could. They pledged their party to a tariff for revenue, to river and harbor improvements, to free homesteads, to cheap postage, and to the election by the people of all civil officers. With the same view of drawing recruits from both of the opposing armies, they nominated Martin Van Buren for President and Charles Francis Adams for Vice-President.

This convention met in Buffalo, August 9, 1848.

In 1840 Van Buren had been the bearer of a standard inscribed with the legends: "Congress has no power to carry on a system of internal improvements"; "Interference with slavery is unconstitutional and dangerous to the Union." That banner he now trampled on, and bore aloft one with a new device, which most of his followers, if not himself, read as "Excelsior."

Upon questions of mere expediency, good men may, and under changed conditions will, change their views. But upon fundamental constitutional questions a judgment deliberately formed cannot be changed without evident weakness and vacillation in the man, or a suspicion of lack of sincerity. Van Buren had twice been

the nominee of the Democrats, and sought the nomination the third time, and that only four years before he consented to be anointed as the high priest of Abolitionism. He was charged with seeking revenge upon the Democrats for rejecting his leadership. If this was his motive, he may have found satisfaction in the result of the following election, to which result his new party in some measure contributed.

The Whig convention of that year, following their action in 1840, played upon the popular enthusiasm which always attends a military hero, and nominated General Taylor for President. His associate was Millard Fillmore for Vice-President. The convention was held in Philadelphia, June 7, 1848.

General Taylor was the owner of a great many slaves in Louisiana, but the anti-slavery feeling, especially amongst the Northern Whigs, had become somewhat formidable. Nice discrimination was required in framing the platform, so as not to weaken the party in either section. Six of the resolutions contained an elaborate eulogy of General Taylor's great military success in Mexico, and prophecy and promise of equal success as a civil ruler. The one resolution defining the creed of the party was so general and vague as not to disturb the sensibilities of any. The clearly defined views which had been proclaimed in 1844 found no expression this year. All the living issues were ignored or glossed over with the statement that the Whig party stands "on the broad and firm platform of the Constitution, braced up by all its inviolable and sacred guarantees and compromises."

Several attempts were made to insert in the platform a plank in favor of the Wilmot Proviso; but the party hesitated to commit itself fully to the anti-slavery sentiment and thus throw away all hope of carrying any Southern State.

The Democrats nominated Gen. Lewis Cass for

President and William O. Butler of Kentucky, for Vice-President.

Their declaration of principles was quite elaborate. It reaffirmed all the platforms of 1840 and of 1844, in general terms. Continued confidence in the American people is expressed; economy demanded; National Bank denounced; proceeds of public lands not to be distributed; veto power to be maintained; war with Mexico justified; obligation to soldiers recognized; sympathy with the French Republic expressed; opposition to monopolies announced; the Sub-Treasury system approved. Polk's administration was complimented for many things, chief amongst them "the noble impulse given to the cause of free trade by the repeal of the tariff of 1842, and the creation of the more equal, honest, and productive tariff of 1846." This convention met in Baltimore, May 22, 1848.

Those who framed this platform must have forgotten the party's equivocal position in 1844. But party changes upon this and other questions will be further considered in subsequent pages.

The result of this election by popular vote was¹:

Taylor.....	1,360,601
Cass.....	1,220,544
Van Buren.....	291,263

The electoral vote stood:

Taylor.....	163
Cass.....	127

¹ The electoral votes for Taylor were: Vermont, 6; Massachusetts, 12; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 6; New Jersey, 7; New York, 36; Pennsylvania, 26; Maryland, 8; Delaware, 3; North Carolina, 11; Georgia, 10; Louisiana, 6; Tennessee, 13; Kentucky, 12; Florida, 3—total, 163.

For Cass were: Maine, 9; New Hampshire, 6; Virginia, 17; South Carolina, 9; Alabama, 9; Mississippi, 6; Ohio, 23; Indiana, 12; Illinois, 9; Missouri, 7; Arkansas, 3; Michigan, 5; Wisconsin, 4; Texas, 4; Iowa, 4—total, 127.

The Democrats controlled both branches of Congress during this Presidential term.

In the thirty-first Congress there were, in the Senate, 35 Democrats, 25 Whigs, 2 Free-Soilers; in the House, 116 Democrats, 111 Whigs.

In the thirty-second Congress in the Senate there were 36 Democrats, 23 Whigs, 3 Free-Soilers; in the House, 140 Democrats, 88 Whigs, 5 Free-Soilers.

Although the Whigs had a plurality of the popular vote at the election of President, it was evident that disintegration had commenced. True they had elected a slaveholder as President; but their position on the engrossing subject of the extension of the slaveholding area was regarded as evasive, and their Southern adherents, and many in the North who held to the compromises, dropped away.

At the same time, the Democrats felt that their lines were weakened. They had faithfully stood by the South in maintaining all their rights, and perhaps more. Yet the South had failed to reciprocate; had given electoral votes to the opposition. Mutual distrust was engendered, and in the next Congress there was no longer a solid Democratic vote on the absorbing issue.

A singular fatality seemed to attend Whig victories. General Taylor died a year and four months after his inauguration, and was succeeded by the Vice-President, Millard Fillmore.

The slavery question continued to be of absorbing interest. It was temporarily — many thought, and more hoped, permanently — settled. The contention was over the admission of California as a free State. Clay and Webster, the great leaders of the Whig party, advocated a compromise, the terms of which were: (1) That California should be admitted as a free State. (2) That the Territories of Utah and New Mexico should be formed without any provision as to slavery. (3) That Texas

should be paid \$10,000,000 to surrender its jurisdiction over New Mexico. (4) That the slave trade should be prohibited in the District of Columbia. (5) That a bill should be enacted by which slaves escaping into free States should be restored to the owners. These seemed remarkable concessions to the anti-slavery sentiment, in view of the fact that its adherents had never been able to muster a single electoral vote, and had but a corporal's guard in the House of Representatives. But the cloud was gathering and growing blacker, and the earnest patriots of the two great parties sought to make a conductor that would carry off the fatal lightning which was ominously flashing in the political sky. And so Clay's Compromise Bill became a law. Under it California was admitted as a free State.

One of the features of this compromise was the enactment of a law for the rendition of slaves who should escape from their masters, and find refuge in any of the free States. In compliance with the Constitution, a Fugitive Slave law had long ago been passed; but this new law was more stringent in its provisions. Its rigorous enforcement created the wildest excitement amongst those already arrayed against slavery; and it stirred the hearts of many who had passively acquiesced in the passage of the law. Riots ensued, and blood was shed; but the power of the Federal Government prevailed, and the provisions of the law were measurably carried out. Hostility to slavery gathered intensity because it was smothered to a certain extent.

The masses of the people, anxious for tranquillity, accepted the compromises as the quietus to the slavery agitation. There was little, if any, party contention in Congress, and Mr. Fillmore's administration glided placidly on to its close.

There was an incident during this administration characteristic of the adventurous spirit of a class of

Americans. An expedition, consisting of some five hundred, undertook to capture Cuba and annex it to the United States. That it was a reckless and foolhardy project, perhaps, made it all the more attractive. It was an utter failure, and its leader, Lopez, was executed in Havana. Up to this time no political party had indicated a desire for the annexation of Cuba.

In the Democratic Convention of 1852, held in Baltimore, June 1st, there was witnessed another of those strange and sudden movements by which the contest between the prominent and favorite candidates causes them to be all thrown overboard, and the helm to be placed in the hands of one selected from the mess. Changing the figure—when the tournament was opened, four renowned knights entered the lists, and after many exciting tilts, in which their fortunes were varying and uncertain, a knight who had remained in the shadow, with visor down, dashed in, unhorsed all of his opponents, and won the prize.

Upon the first ballot, Cass had 116 votes, Buchanan 93, Marcy 27, Douglas 20. On the twenty-ninth ballot, Cass had 27, Buchanan 93, Douglas 91. On the thirty-first ballot, Cass's friends made a last rally, and forced his vote up to 131. On the thirty-second ballot, Pierce, of New Hampshire, received one vote, which deserted him on the next ballot. Perhaps his friend was not a deserter, but had gone off to secure recruits. On the thirty-sixth ballot, the votes of Virginia were thrown for the New Hampshire candidate, and his strength gradually increased until, on the forty-ninth ballot, there was a wild rush to get under his banner. He received 282 votes, and was declared to be the nominee. William R. King of Alabama was nominated for the Vice-Presidency.

The platform was a reiteration of the resolutions of 1840, '44, '48, with enlargement of details, specifically declaring for economy; against a national bank; in favor

of the Sub-Treasury system; against an abridgment of the privilege of becoming citizens; denying the power of Congress to interfere with the domestic institutions of the several States; against agitation of the slavery question; pledging faithful adherence to the compromises of 1850; and to the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave law; approving the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1792 and 1798, and Mr. Madison's report of 1799; declaring the war with Mexico to have been just and necessary; repeating their fidelity to the doctrines of State rights, and their allegiance to the Union.

The Whigs sought once more to strengthen their party by appealing to the American love for military glory, and to the patriotism and gratitude of the people. Conspicuous and able statesmen were driven to the rear, and Gen. Winfield Scott was put in command. Scott was a great military captain. His march to, and capture of, the City of Mexico, was as brilliant, if not as amazing, as that of Cortez. But the memory of these achievements was not fresh enough to quicken the public pulse; and there was nothing in Scott's character or manners to arouse a furor. He had no catching *sobriquet*. He was not "Old Hickory," nor "Rough and Ready," but a dignified and haughty soldier. Hence there was no enthusiasm over his nomination. His colleague on the ticket was William A. Graham of North Carolina. The convention met in Baltimore, June 16, 1852.

The platform was much more specific than that of 1848. It rivalled the Democratic one in its declarations that the Federal Government had but limited powers; that the reserved rights of the States should be maintained; that the Fugitive Slave law should be enforced; and slavery agitation should cease. Then two distinctive doctrines were announced in direct opposition to the Democratic theories. These were: (1) That the Constitution vests in Congress the power to improve the rivers and harbors of

the country. (2) That in laying duties on imports "sound policy requires a just discrimination, and when practicable by specific duties, whereby suitable encouragement may be afforded to American industry equal to all classes and to all portions of the country."

The Free-Soil convention met in Pittsburg, August 11, 1852, and nominated John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, for President, and George W. Julian, of Indiana, for Vice-President.

Due attention, in ten resolutions, was paid to their governing idea that "slavery is a sin against God, and a crime against man, and should be abolished." Yet they adopted the Democratic doctrine of the limited powers of the Federal Government; for a strict construction of the Constitution; and went still farther, in declaring that they recognize "the sovereignty of the States." They also followed the Democrats in favoring the Sub-Treasury and opposing any abridgment of the privilege of naturalization. They then take the plank from the Whig platform in favor of river and harbor improvements. They repeat their declaration in favor of cheap postage; free homesteads; the election of all civil officers; and a tariff for revenue. They say the independence of Hayti should be recognized; and commercial relations established with her on the footing of the most favored nations.

When it is remembered that this party had gathered into its folds a number who had been staunch Whigs or Democrats, and who carried with them many of the tenets of their late political fellowship, it is not surprising that they should seek to engraft their old views upon their new creed. In the conflict between time-cherished views, the wonder is that they were able to harmonize at all.

The party was still growing, as shown by the popular vote, which stood:

84 *POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES*

Pierce	1,601,474
Scott	1,386,578
Hale.....	156,149

The electoral vote was:

Pierce	254
Scott.....	42 ¹

This terribly crushing defeat sounded the death-knell of the Whig party. True, as the indictment for homicide runs, it "lingering did languish, and languishing did live" a little while longer.

At the beginning of this administration Congress was divided politically as follows: Senate, 38 Democrats, 22 Whigs, 2 Free-Soilers; House, 159 Democrats, 71 Whigs, 4 Free-Soilers. When Congress met, December 3, 1855, there was a different classification. In the Senate there were 42 Democrats, 15 Republicans, 5 Americans, and 30 opposition of various names. In the House there were 71 Democrats, pure and simple, 117 Anti-Nebraska men, Democrats, Whigs, and Free-Soilers, 31 Pro-Slavery Whigs.

A new phase of the growing hostility to foreigners developed a new party called "Know-Nothings." In 1834 there had been a Native American party; but it was in the main confined to New York and Philadelphia. The Whigs who joined it withdrew in 1844 because it would not support Clay. This new organization worked in secret, and attained considerable power. As will presently

¹ The electoral votes for Pierce were: Maine, 8; New Hampshire, 5; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 6; New York, 35; New Jersey, 7; Pennsylvania, 27; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 8; Virginia, 15; North Carolina, 10; South Carolina, 8; Georgia, 10; Alabama, 9; Mississippi, 7; Louisiana, 6; Ohio, 23; Indiana, 13; Illinois, 11; Arkansas, 4; Texas, 4; Iowa, 4; Missouri, 9; Michigan, 6; Florida, 3; Wisconsin, 5; California, 4—total, 254.

For Scott were: Vermont, 5; Massachusetts, 13; Tennessee, 12; Kentucky, 12—total, 42.

be seen, it culminated in 1856, and then dissolved as quietly as it had been born and grown.

The semi-chaotic state of the parties in 1855 prevented the election of Speaker of the House for two months; and it was not until February, 1856, that the House was organized by the election of N. P. Banks of Massachusetts.

This was a tumultuous session. The fight over Kansas-Nebraska was on. The House put a rider on the Army Appropriation Bill, prohibiting the use of the army to enforce the acts of the Kansas Legislature. The Senate struck the proviso out of the bill, and no appropriation for the army was voted until a special session in August.

Pierce's administration was overclouded by stormy and portentous scenes. The slavery question, like Banquo's ghost, would not down. The compromises, which it had been hoped would cure the abolition fever, proved to be the weakest of nostrums; or, perhaps, rather an unexpected stimulant to the disease. Stephen A. Douglas, brilliant, persistent, and aggressive, introduced in Congress his famous bill to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, with the right of the residents to decide for themselves whether or not slavery should be permitted. This measure was sneeringly dubbed "Squatter Sovereignty." The intensity and bitterness of the prevalent feeling was illustrated by a severe personal assault upon Senator Sumner by Preston S. Brooks, a hot-headed South Carolinian, because of some sharp and severe comments Sumner had made upon Brooks's uncle, Senator Butler.

Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Bill was a palpable departure from the Compromise of 1820, by which slavery would be excluded from both of these Territories. But he claimed that the Compromise of 1820 had been superseded by that of 1850. He stood upon the broad ground

that no arbitrary line should debar the people from forming and regulating their own domestic policy; and that the residents, whether living north or south of $36^{\circ} 30'$, should have the right to sanction or prohibit slavery, as they might prefer. The oratorical struggle was long and fierce. The Southerners abandoned their claim to their inherent right to take their slaves into the new Territories, and united—both Whigs and Democrats—in support of Douglas's bill. In the Senate the Northern Whigs and Free-Soilers were the only opponents. But in the House just one half of the Democratic representatives (there were 88, and 44 voted for the bill and 44 against it) joined the Whigs and Free-Soilers in voting against the bill.

Douglas's bill having become a law (May 30, 1854), there ensued a sharp struggle between the conflicting elements to secure control of Kansas; Nebraska, not being adapted to slave labor, was eliminated from the contest. Slaveholders hurried into Kansas, taking their human property with them. This movement was met by the anti-slavery men of New England organizing societies to encourage and aid the emigration of men from the free States. Many of the new settlers were furnished with Sharp's rifles, as a necessary part of their equipment. The promoters of these colonizers considered rifles as important to the outfit as ploughs and seed grain. Such preparation suggested, if it did not invite, collision. A border warfare was the almost inevitable result. Armed men from slaveholding Missouri went into the disputed territory. Lawlessness, violence, outrage, and bloodshed followed in the struggle to control the elections which were to determine the character of the local government, whether it should sanction or prohibit slavery. Sectionalism, which both of the great parties had hitherto striven to suppress, became the dominant and absorbing issue. Under its influence

the Whig party succumbed. The Democratic party, having for half a century been indoctrinated in the theory that slavery was a domestic institution, recognized by the Constitution, and beyond the power of Congressional interference, remained steadfast to these views.

But Pierce's administration could point with some pride to its achievements in diplomacy. The rich Empire of Japan, which had barred out the rest of the world from all intercourse with her, opened her doors and, by treaty, gave the merchants of this country free access to two of her ports.

In June, 1853, Martin Koszta, a native of Hungary, who had resided in the United States, and had declared his intention to become a citizen thereof, returned to Europe on business, and was seized at Smyrna, Asia Minor, in Turkish dominions, by the Austrian authorities, who claimed jurisdiction over him, and hurried on board an Austrian ship. Captain Ingraham, commanding the United States warship *St. Louis*, coming into port at Smyrna, learned the facts, and demanded the release of Koszta, threatening, if refused, to take him by force from the Austrian vessel on which he was imprisoned. He was thereupon released, subject to future negotiations. A diplomatic correspondence ensued between Wm. L. Marcy, Secretary of State for the United States, and the Foreign Office of the Austrian Government. Mr. Marcy's papers were an able, exhaustive, and unanswerable argument upon the subject of the status of Koszta, and settled the question that this government would protect its citizens—even those who had only declared their intention to become such—wherever they might be. This added greatly to the dignity and power of the United States, and gave considerable *éclat* to the Pierce administration.

The Guadalupe-Hidalgo treaty left the boundary line between Chihuahua and New Mexico in some doubt.

James Gadsden was sent as United States Minister to Mexico to adjust the issues growing out of the treaty referred to. On December 30, 1853, a convention was concluded by which there was secured to the United States all that she claimed under the former treaty; and what is now Arizona was added to the national domain, at the cost of \$10,000,000.

During this administration Messrs. Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé, three American ministers to European courts, issued their "Ostend Manifesto," indicating the desire, even the determination, of this country to acquire the Island of Cuba.

This period was also marked by another filibustering expedition. Nicaragua was the invaded territory, the forces being led by a General Walker. This proved as futile and fatal as had been the previous one to Cuba under Lopez.

It will be observed that there was an adverse majority in both branches of Congress during Adams's term. Jackson had a solid support during both terms. Van Buren started in office with a majority to support him in both Senate and House, but this was reversed in the last two years of his term. Harrison had the same experience. During Polk's administration, the Democratic majority in the Senate was maintained; but was lost in the House in the second half of his term. The Whigs were in the minority in both Senate and House throughout the Taylor-Fillmore administration.

Pierce entered office with both Houses largely Democratic. During his last two years the Senate was with him, but the opposition had a majority in the House.





CHAPTER III

DEMOCRATIC—REPUBLICAN—WHIG—AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL UNION—LABOR—PROHIBITION—GREENBACK—AMERICAN NATIONAL—EQUAL RIGHTS—NATIONAL PEOPLE'S

1856-1898

THE campaign of 1856 was opened with a quadrangular contest and the introduction of a new element into national politics.

The strength displayed by Buchanan in the convention of 1852, as well as his eminent abilities and spotless character, made him the leading candidate this year. He entered the convention with 135½ votes to 122½ for Pierce (the half-vote for each was by reason of the admission of both contesting delegates from one district, giving each ½ of a vote), 33 for Douglas, and 5 for Cass. The bulk of Buchanan's vote was from the Northern States, yet he had also a majority of those from the South. On the sixteenth ballot the contest was narrowed down to Buchanan and Douglas, the former receiving 168 votes, the latter 123, and Cass 8.

Bodies of men, the most able and cool-headed, are sometimes carried off their feet by a sudden and often unaccountable impulse. Former experiences may have suggested the possibility of the introduction of a "dark horse" in the close and exciting contest; and the determination that none but one of their tried and honored

leaders should be chosen, may have swayed the convention. Buchanan had a majority, but far from two thirds. On the next ballot, delegation after delegation changed its vote, until the entire number, 296, were cast for Buchanan. On the first ballot for the Vice-Presidency the votes were fairly divided between ten or more. Several of them were withdrawn, and on the second ballot John C. Breckinridge was nominated by acclamation.

Undismayed by the swelling ranks of those opposed to slavery, the Democrats stood bravely by their guns. They renewed their adherence to the principles promulgated by former conventions; but they went further, and squarely met the new aspects of the question. There was to be no evasion or shirking. They announced that

"The American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the 'slavery question,' upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservation of the Union—Non-intervention by Congress with slavery in State and Territory and in the District of Columbia."

They also declared that the Territories had a right to form a constitution preparatory to admission into the Union, either sanctioning or condemning slavery as a majority of votes should determine. They affirmed their adherence to the Monroe Doctrine, declared in favor of a railroad to the Pacific, and a canal across the Isthmus, over which "we can, under no circumstances, surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it." They proclaimed themselves "in favor of free seas, and progressive free trade throughout the world." They pledged the coming administration to make every proper effort to secure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico. (This was a faint echo of the Ostend

Manifesto.) They were emphatic in condemning "the attempt to enforce civil and religious disabilities, and the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship in our land."

In this campaign the Whig party made its last gasp of life. It was already *in articulo mortis*. It felt that it had not strength enough to stand alone, and leaned sadly and heavily upon a mysterious stranger who had come out of darkness into the open arena. Its convention ratified the nomination of Millard Fillmore and Andrew Jackson Donelson, who had, a few months previously, been announced as the candidates of the American, or Know-Nothing party.

The deliverances of the last Whig convention were full of patriotic ardor and of grave apprehension for the future of the country. They declared "their reverence for the Constitution, their unalterable attachment to the National Union, and a fixed determination to do all in their power to preserve them for themselves and their posterity." But they regarded "with the deepest interest and anxiety the present disorderly condition of our national affairs," and looked with serious forebodings upon the sectional strife in which "large sections of our population are embittered by mutual recriminations." "Civil war is raging, and the Union is in peril." Under these alarming conditions they declared "that, without adopting or referring to the peculiar doctrines of the party which has already selected Mr. Fillmore as a candidate, we look to him as a well-tried and faithful friend of the Constitution and the Union," etc.

The party to whose "peculiar doctrines" the Whigs referred was one born in secret; its accouchement was a mystery; its existence and its purposes were concealed for a time; and when suspicious circumstances directed attention and aroused curiosity to certain stealthy movements, and inquiry was made of anyone thought to be connected therewith, he invariably answered, "I know

nothing about it." Thus the organization became designated as Know-Nothings. In time it was developed that the members met in secret lodges, had forms of initiation, oaths, passwords, and signs of recognition. By perfect discipline and hidden methods, they were able to invade the councils of the other parties, and secure the nomination of some of their own members to whom no suspicion of such membership was openly attached. This done, when election day came they cast "plumpers" for their secret ally; and by electing him, although he professed allegiance to the party in a hopeless minority in the locality, they spread amazement and consternation amongst the uninitiated.

In 1854 the candidates supported by this party were elected in Delaware and Massachusetts. In Pennsylvania Pollock, Whig and Know-Nothing, was elected Governor; and at the same time Mott, Democrat and Know-Nothing, was elected Canal Commissioner; and a Whig and Know-Nothing majority was elected to the legislature. Henry A. Wise, Democratic candidate for Governor of Virginia, made a terrific and sustained assault upon Know-Nothingism. Although far from well, he travelled over three thousand miles, made fifty speeches, and thoroughly routed the enemy, having a majority of ten thousand to his credit. In 1855 the Know-Nothings elected governors and members of the State legislatures in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and California, and a portion of the ticket in Maryland. In Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas the majorities for the Democratic candidates were greatly reduced by the same agency. As soon as this party felt strong and bold enough to come out of its hiding-places, its doom was sealed.

As has been stated, this party put in nomination Fillmore and Donelson. Their first and only national convention was held in Philadelphia, February 22, 1856. The

platform, after a devout acknowledgment of God's protecting care of our nation, and a declaration of allegiance to the Constitution and the Union, proceeded to proclaim its "peculiar doctrines." "Americans must rule America, and to this end native-born citizens should be selected for all State, Federal, and municipal government employment, in preference to all others." "No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth) who recognizes any allegiance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate, or power." They also declared in favor of a change in the naturalization law which should make "a continued residence of twenty-one years an indispensable requisite for citizenship." Upon the pending political issues, they avowed themselves in favor of maintaining the reserved rights of the States, and non-interference by Congress with domestic affairs in the States. They pronounced in favor of Squatter Sovereignty, with the limitation that none but actual citizens should have the right to vote upon the adoption of a Constitution for Territories seeking admission as States.

From the formation of our government, immigration had been invited, encouraged, and welcomed. Vast numbers had left their native land and had founded homes and interests here. They had aided very largely in the development of our country's resources, and in constructing great public works, and in many various useful industries. They had renounced allegiance to any foreign power, and had become naturalized citizens. Now a brand was to be put upon them. No matter how honest, able, and loyal, not one of them should be entitled to hold office. They should not even be permitted to earn support for their families by making or mending the highways, or by sweeping the streets, or by any other "State, Federal, or municipal government employment."

And then, too, we had boasted that this is a land where freedom of conscience and the right to worship God according to its dictates was impregnably established. The Constitution provided that there should be no religious test as a qualification for holding office. Now, it was announced in unmistakable terms that no person should be eligible who "recognizes any obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate, or power." By this Roman Catholics, although born and reared in this country, were to be denied equal rights with their fellow-citizens.

But amongst the pro-slavery delegates to this convention their "peculiar institution" was of paramount importance; and they withdrew from the convention upon its refusal to approve of the re-establishment of the Missouri Compromise line.

These prescriptive, unrepudican, and un-American doctrines might have been kept alive in secret lodges by pandering to prejudices and bigotry, and by stimulating the fears of the weak and timorous; but under the glare of open day and free discussion they could not survive. With the added strength of the Whig vote, they were able to carry but one State—that of Maryland. However, they elected five Senators and about twenty members of the lower house of Congress.

In 1856 the anti-slavery element adopted the name of Republican, and became a very formidable factor in political history. Their convention met in Philadelphia on June 17th, and nominated John C. Fremont of California for President, and William L. Dayton of New Jersey for Vice-President.

There was considerable glamour about Fremont. He was popularly dubbed "the Great Pathfinder," because of his exploration and survey of a new route to the Pacific coast. While engaged in his survey in 1846, he learned that a Mexican officer had threatened to drive

out some American settlers. Fremont hurried to their rescue, and with a much inferior force he several times defeated the Mexicans. He was not aware that war had been declared between the United States and Mexico, but fought on his own responsibility and on the general principle that American citizens should be protected in whatever rights they had acquired.

The convention which nominated Fremont proclaimed that their party was opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; to the extension of slavery into free territory; in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State. They denied the power "of Congress, of a Territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States while the present Constitution shall be maintained." Yet they held that "the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories for their government." They furiously denounced "the Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, and apologists" for the conduct and condition of affairs in Kansas. They denounced the Ostend Manifesto, one of whose promulgators, Mr. Buchanan, had two weeks before been nominated by the Democrats, as "the highwayman's plea that might makes right." They were in favor of "immediate and efficient aid" by the government to secure a railroad to the Pacific. They announced that it was the right and duty of Congress to make appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors of national importance.

Upon these issues, and with their chosen chieftains, the four parties were put in battle array. The result proved the Democracy to be again invincible. Of the popular vote

Buchanan received.....	1,838,169
Fremont "	1,341,264
Fillmore "	874,534

The electoral vote stood ¹:

Buchanan.....	174
Fremont.....	114
Fillmore.....	8

The Congress which came in with Mr. Buchanan (the thirty-fifth) contained 39 Democrats, 20 Republicans, and 5 Know-Nothings in the Senate; in the House were 131 Democrats, 92 Republicans, and 14 Know-Nothings.

The thirty-sixth Congress stood: Senate, 38 Democrats, 26 Republicans, 2 Know-Nothings; House, 86 Democrats, 13 Anti-Lecompton Democrats, 109 Republicans, 22 Know-Nothings.

Buchanan's administration was a stormy one throughout, and closed with "a dissevered Union." In 1856 the Supreme Court of the United States decided that slaves might be taken for temporary residence by their owners into any free State, despite the laws of such State, without a forfeiture of ownership.

The decision referred to was in the Dred Scott case, which, by reason of its importance and results, merits a fuller notice. Two questions were before the court: 1st. Whether a negro, whose ancestors were slaves, can be a citizen. 2d. Whether the plaintiff (Dred Scott) was a slave at the time he brought his action. Having been taken by his master to Minnesota, the effect of the Missouri Compromise was involved.

All the judges of the Supreme Court filed opinions, showing a great difference upon the two questions. A

¹ The electoral votes for Buchanan were: Alabama, 9; Arkansas, 4; California, 4; Delaware, 3; Florida, 3; Georgia, 10; Illinois, 11; Indiana, 13; Kentucky, 12; Louisiana, 6; Mississippi, 7; Missouri, 9; New Jersey, 7; North Carolina, 10; Pennsylvania, 27; South Carolina, 8; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 4; Virginia, 15—total, 174.

For Fremont were: Connecticut, 6; Iowa, 4; Maine, 8; Massachusetts, 13; New Hampshire, 5; New York, 35; Ohio, 23; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 5; Wisconsin, 5; Michigan, 6—total, 114.

For Fillmore: Maryland, 8—total, 8.

re-argument was ordered, and again there was a lack of unanimity. But six of the judges (a majority of the court) held that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional; that property in slaves being recognized by the Constitution, although established only by the local law of a particular State, travelled with the person of the owner into a Territory; and while the Territorial condition continued, such property could not be abolished by the legislation of the Territorial government or by Congressional action. Hence Dred Scott was not emancipated by being taken by his master into a free Territory, and that, being a slave, he was not a citizen of Missouri in the sense of the word as used in the Constitution, and could not maintain his suit.

The opinion of Chief Justice Taney, in this case, has been so systematically misrepresented that a correction is due to the truth of history. He did *not* assert, as has been charged, that "negroes have no rights which the white man is bound to respect." He gave a historical view of the state of opinion and feeling about the African race throughout the civilized world at the time the Constitution was adopted; that they were not regarded as citizens; for more than a century they had been regarded as being of an inferior order, and had been treated as having no rights which the white man is bound to respect. Who can question the truth of this historic statement?

The fury of the anti-slavery men over this decision amounted almost to frenzy. They considered it cruel enough that a slave who had effected his escape to freedom should be returned to his master. They admitted that the Constitution might justify this. But it was intolerable that when a master voluntarily took his slaves into States whose statutes declared that slavery should not exist therein, he should be able to defy such statutes, and flaunt his "relic of barbarism" in the faces of men who utterly abhorred it. This decision of the court

caused a revulsion of feeling against the Fugitive Slave law in the breasts of many who up to this time had favored its enforcement. In some States "Personal Liberty Bills" were passed to secure to fugitive slaves the right to trial by jury. All attempts to reclaim the fugitives were attended with disorders, almost, if not entirely, riotous.

The Kansas imbroglio occupied Congress to the exclusion of almost all other matters. The pro-slavery element adopted, at Lecompton, a constitution sanctioning slavery, and under that sought admission to the Union. Douglas and others opposed it on the ground that the constitution had not been submitted to a vote of the people. The bill was finally passed with a proviso that the constitution should be submitted to the people of Kansas, and with another proviso, in the nature of a bribe, that large grants of land should be made to the State in case the Lecompton constitution should be ratified. But the constitution was repudiated, and Kansas remained a Territory until (1861) a new constitution was approved by the voters. This (the Wyandotte constitution) prohibited slavery.

February 14, 1859, Oregon was admitted.

In this Congress (thirty-fifth) eleven of the Democrats in the House still adhering to the party, but opposed to the Kansas policy of the President, were called Anti-Lecompton Democrats. The others supported the administration. In the next Congress (thirty-sixth) in the Senate were: 38 Democrats, 25 Republicans, 2 Know-Nothings; in the House, 86 Democrats, 13 Anti-Lecompton Democrats, 109 Republicans, and 22 Know-Nothings. This status of the parties caused a prolonged contest over the organization of the House. It was not until February 1, 1860, after eight weeks of balloting, that William Pennington of New Jersey, a Republican, was chosen Speaker.

In the thirty-fifth Congress the House passed a bill giving the heads of families the privilege of purchasing a quarter section (160 acres) of land at \$1.25 per acre. The Senate did not concur, and the bill fell. The House passed it again in 1860, and the Senate concurred, modifying it so that actual settlers might acquire homesteads at twenty-five cents per acre. The President vetoed the bill, believing it unfair to the older States. Under the then existing law, heads of families could pre-empt 160 acres, if they did not own more than 320 acres elsewhere, and by living upon and improving the property could acquire title by paying the minimum price fixed by the government for its public lands.

A. C. L.

One John Brown, who had been a participant in the Kansas troubles, became a fanatic upon the subject of slavery, and felt it to be his mission to root it from the face of the country. In 1859, with a mere handful of followers, he seized the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and issued his proclamation of freedom to the slaves. The docile blacks made no response to their self-appointed liberator; the wretched fiasco was soon over. John Brown was hanged by the Virginia authorities, but the spirit which animated him still lived; or, as the song of the occasion put it, "his soul goes marching on."

The people of the South were maddened by the growing hostility in the North against their "peculiar institution." They felt themselves to be insulted, and their rights of property — rights which the highest tribunal in the land had protected — were outraged, and there is no doubt that many of them felt convinced that the success of the Republican party would be the entering wedge to the ultimate destruction of their property in slaves. Rather than calmly await what to them seemed inevitable, they commenced preparation for vigorous defensive measures, and immediately after the result of the elections of 1860 were ascertained, seven Southern States, in

rapid succession, passed ordinances of secession. Mr. Buchanan was still President. The last months of his administration were very eventful and painfully sad.

It is not within the purpose of this sketch to treat of the events of the Civil War, except in so far as they affected the political parties and political issues.

The feelings of the Southern people and a forecast of their action was manifested during the session of the Democratic convention, which assembled in Charleston on April 23, 1860, and continued until May 3d. An entire day was spent in discussing the question of contesting delegations from New York and Illinois. On the fourth day of the session the committee on resolutions made a report; three minority reports were also presented. There were shades of difference, but all were tenacious and resolute. Two days were consumed in angry debate, when the whole subject was recommitted to the committee. A revised report was presented, followed by much discussion. At last a minority report was adopted by a vote of 165 to 138. This not being satisfactory to the Southern delegates, most of them withdrew and organized another convention. After fifty-seven fruitless ballots, in which Douglas had a large plurality, but not two thirds of a full convention, the regular organization adjourned, to meet in Baltimore on June 18th. After a session of four days, during which a platform was adopted, the "Bolters" adjourned to meet in Richmond, Va., on June 11th. They then adjourned to meet in Baltimore on the 20th. Having reassembled in Baltimore, the situation was so grave and complicated that they adjourned from day to day until June 28th.

Meanwhile, pursuant to adjournment, the regular convention met, and upon the second ballot Douglas received 181½ votes, Breckinridge 7½, Guthrie 5½. Thereupon a resolution was offered and passed declaring that Douglas, having received two thirds of the votes cast, was the

regular nominee. Mr. Fitzpatrick of Alabama was nominated for the Vice-Presidency, but he declined, and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia was selected to complete the ticket.

As some Southern men remained in the regular convention, so some Northern men joined the bolters; conspicuous amongst them was Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts. The bolters nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for President, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon, for Vice-President. Thus both factions sought by the constitution of their respective bodies, and by the composition of their tickets, to repel the idea of sectionalism.

The two platforms were identical in favoring government aid in the construction of a railroad to the Pacific; in favor of the acquisition of Cuba; in favor of protection to naturalized citizens as fully as native-born, both at home and abroad; and in favor of the faithful execution of the Fugitive Slave law. Both reaffirmed the Cincinnati platform of 1856, but with different constructions of its application to the question of slavery in the Territories. This was the crucial point—the rock upon which they had split, and were to remain divided. The regulars evaded the direct issue by declaring that “during the existence of Territorial governments, the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of Territorial legislatures over the subject of the domestic relations as the same has been, or shall hereafter be, finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, should be respected by all good citizens, and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the general government.”

The bolters declared that all citizens have an equal right to settle with their property in the Territory, and without their rights either of person or property being destroyed, or impaired by Congressional or Territorial

legislation; that it is the duty of Congress to protect these rights; that sovereignty only attaches when a Territory forms a State constitution; and then "it ought to be admitted, whether its constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery."

The Republican convention met in Chicago on May 16, 1860, flushed with their victories in 1859, when they had carried every Northern State, except New York, Rhode Island, California, and Oregon. Yet they were not disposed to be extreme in their views. They declared their unwavering allegiance to the Constitution, and their devotion to the Union. They pronounced in favor of the maintenance inviolate of the rights of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment, exclusively. But upon the paramount issue, their views were unmistakable and emphatic. They said: "We deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial legislature, or of any individual, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States."

Upon other issues, they declared in favor of a free homestead law; of river and harbor improvements; of aid in building a Pacific railroad. They were opposed to the abridgment of privileges of naturalization. They were for "such an adjustment of duties on imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country."

Upon the opening ballot for nominees, nine and more were voted for. Several of them, as Seward, Chase, McLean, had a national reputation for high character and great abilities. But many years before, a poor youth had crossed the Ohio River, from Kentucky, and settled in Illinois, if, indeed, his early life there could be called settled. He had no educational advantages, nor had he any friends of influence. He shifted around, boating, storekeeping, rail-splitting, and surveying; "everything

at times, and nothing long." Finally, he determined to try his fortune as a lawyer. He was very tall, gaunt, and ungainly in appearance. The ample leisure which he had, gave him the opportunity to read much and to think much. He had a well-balanced mind, strong understanding, and was irreproachable as to his moral character. Behind or beneath a sad, pathetic countenance, there was a rich and inexhaustible fund of wit. His endless repertoire of anecdotes—always humorous and apt—caused his fellow-lawyers and fellow-citizens to delight in his companionship. He had attained a degree of prominence, and had attracted considerable attention by a series of joint campaign debates with Stephen A. Douglas. In one of these speeches, he made a prophetic statement: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free."

Throughout the discussion he handled himself and his subject with masterful skill and ability. Even as experienced and powerful a debater as Douglas found that he had met "a foeman worthy of his steel." The hitherto obscure country lawyer became a man of prominence, and in due time the leader of his party and a martyr in its cause.

On the first ballot Seward received 173½ votes, Lincoln 102, Simon Cameron 50½, Chase 49, Bates of Missouri 48, Dayton 14, McLean 12, Collamer 10, and scattering 6. On the second ballot Seward led Lincoln by only 3½ votes. On the third ballot Lincoln had 231½, Seward 181, and the rest were scattering. Lincoln lacked by 1½ of a majority, and these, and many more, were given him by changes until he had 354 out of a total of 465. Upon second ballot, Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, was chosen as Lincoln's colleague.

Throughout the country there were many patriotic men who thought that impending dangers could be

averted if party spirit could be abated and sectional feeling suppressed. They thought that the momentous crisis dwarfed all minor issues; and that all good and true men could be rallied upon a platform to which all parties had again and again pledged themselves. A convention was called for the formation of a Constitutional Union party. It was assembled in Baltimore on May 19, 1860. It was intended to draw away the strength of the Republican party, whose convention had just closed its session, and to forestall the action of the Democrats, who were soon to meet. This convention nominated John Bell of Tennessee for President, and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for Vice-President.

They resolved that platforms of partisan conventions were misleading, and tended to widen political divisions and create or promote sectionalism, and that therefore, "it is both the part of patriotism and duty to recognize no political principles other than the Constitution of the country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws."

That great and memorable contest closed with the following result:

Abraham Lincoln.....	1,865,913
Stephen A. Douglas.....	1,374,664
John C. Breckinridge.....	848,404
John Bell.....	591,900

The electoral vote stood ¹:

Lincoln.....	180
Breckinridge.....	72
Douglas.....	12
Bell.....	39

The result showed how tightly sectional lines had been

¹ The electoral votes for Lincoln were: California, 4; Connecticut, 6; Illinois, 11; Indiana, 13; Iowa, 4; Maine, 8; Massachusetts, 13; Michigan, 6; Minnesota, 4; New Hampshire, 3; New Jersey, 4; New York,

drawn. Lincoln carried every Northern State except New Jersey, but no others. The electoral votes of the Southern States were cast for Breckinridge, except those of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia, which were cast for Bell, and that of Missouri, which went for Douglas.

Before the result had been officially ascertained and announced — although perfectly well known — several of the Southern States passed ordinances of secession; and in February, 1861, the representatives of these States — South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, seven in number — met in Montgomery, Alabama, and formed a government under the name of "the Confederate States of America." They chose Jefferson Davis as President and Alex. H. Stephens as Vice-President. Arsenal, custom-houses, forts, and ships of the United States, within the boundaries of the seceding States, were taken possession of in the name of the new government.

Various efforts were made to avert the impending calamity. On February 1, 1861, a peace congress was held in Washington, with delegates from thirteen free States and seven border States, which recommended certain concessions to the South. Congress disregarded them, but passed an amendment to the Constitution proposed by Douglas, which prohibited Congress from ever interfering with slavery in the States. Senator Crittenden offered a compromise re-establishing the Missouri Compromise line, and providing that slavery should be prohibited north of 36° 30', and should be recognized and protected south of that line; and this to be incorporated

35; Ohio, 23; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 27; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 5; Wisconsin, 5—total, 180.

For Douglas were: Missouri, 9; New Jersey, 3—total, 12.

For Breckinridge were: Alabama, 9; Arkansas, 4; Delaware, 3; Florida, 3; Georgia, 10; Louisiana, 6; Maryland, 8; Mississippi, 7; North Carolina, 10; South Carolina, 8; Texas, 4—total, 72.

For Bell were: Kentucky, 12; Tennessee, 12; Virginia, 15—total, 39.

in the Constitution. But these were only "tubs thrown to the whale"; and the whale would not pause to dally with them.

A number of Southern Senators and representatives had withdrawn from Congress, and Kansas was admitted with her Wyandotte constitution.

Another tariff bill (the Morrill Bill), highly protective, was passed in the early days of 1861; but most of the time and attention of Congress was directed to the gathering storm.

Mr. Buchanan had to deal with this condition of affairs, above indicated, during the last four months of his administration. Momentous questions, wholly without precedent and entirely unanticipated confronted him, demanding decision and action. These questions were so vital and far-reaching that they cannot, and properly should not, be considered here. Their effect upon the party politics will be noted as the history progresses.

The right of secession could not be conceded without the utter destruction of the Union. Yet the States which passed secession ordinances presented an unyielding and defiant front. The apprehension of civil war covered the nation like a horrible pall.

Although Virginia had passed an ordinance of secession, the citizens residing in the northwestern portion of the State refused to recognize the ordinance as valid. They were remote from their seat of government, and to a great extent beyond the reach of its influence. Their intercourse and their interests were rather with Pennsylvania and Ohio. They set up a government for themselves. A military governor was appointed. The boundaries of a new State were marked out, and in 1863 West Virginia was admitted into the Union as a complete and independent State. No justification can be made for this mutilation and dismemberment of a State; even the plea of "military necessity" is not sufficient. The army

could have held this, as it did other territory of the seceding States; and could have given adequate protection to the loyal people. Happily, this was the only instance in which the Cæsarian operation was performed to increase the family of States. After the war "the Old Dominion" was powerless to assert her ancient jurisdiction, and she accepted the inevitable. This severance of the State left an ugly question of the adjustment of the State's *ante-bellum* debt. The share which each should bear has not yet been determined.

When the thirty-seventh Congress met in special session, July 4, 1861, it was composed as follows: Senate, 31 Republicans, 11 Democrats, 5 Union (for the preservation of the Union, independent of former party affiliation); House, 106 Republicans, 42 Democrats, 28 Union. War measures were promptly enacted; amongst them paper currency (greenbacks) was authorized. The tariff duties were again increased. January 1, 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation was issued. Suspension of the *habeas corpus* was legalized. In 1863-64 an income tax was imposed; the National Bank law was passed. Congress, the thirty-eighth, then stood: Senate, 36 Republicans, 14 Democrats; House, 102 Republicans, 75 Democrats—9 classified as "Border State men." The Fugitive Slave law was repealed; an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery was adopted in the Senate. In the meantime four other States, in addition to the original seven, declared themselves out of the Union.

While party policies were held largely in abeyance, or at least subordinate to the supreme issue of preserving the nation, party organizations were maintained, and the machinery was set in motion for the regular quadrennial conventions and election.

Under this condition of affairs, Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated. Notwithstanding his specific declarations,

his solemn protestations that he had no purpose or desire to interfere, directly or indirectly, with slavery in the States; and notwithstanding his earnest appeals for amity and fraternal feeling, he was distrusted by the South. The gauntlet was thrown down, and the issue must be decided by wager of battle. The mighty conflict lasted through the entire term of Lincoln's first administration. *Inter armes silent leges*, and so also party politics were almost entirely silent in the overwhelming, all-absorbing struggle. The Republicans stood solidly at Lincoln's back, except a few radical Abolitionists, who could not contain themselves while slavery survived. And the great mass of the Democrats were no less patriotic. Douglas, Lincoln's former opponent on the stump in Illinois, and his recent competitor for the Presidency, steadfastly and zealously supported him in his trying hour.

It is true the Democrats criticised the conduct of the war, and denounced the infractions of the Constitution which the Republicans justified upon the plea of "military necessity." There were some who even sympathized with the South, but they were insignificant in number.

Through the preceding half-century of peace, the Democrats had been taught, in every campaign, that the Constitution was inviolable, and adapted to all emergencies; that it was a sacred instrument; and that there could be no higher power. It was, therefore, scarcely to be expected that they would stand calmly silent when the civil authority was made subordinate to military in sections of the country outside of the seat of war. To see the writ of *habeas corpus* suspended, houses searched, and men arrested without lawful warrant was, in their eyes, a profanation and defilement of the Temple of Liberty. But their love of the Union was so intense and their hostility to slavery so feeble, that they would

willingly have preserved the first at the price of perpetuating the last.

In 1860 the Democratic lines had been so badly shattered that many thought they could never be re-formed. They were further weakened by their opposition to the war policy, which was readily construed into opposition to the war itself. In addition to this, they were deprived of the aid they had been accustomed to receive from the eleven Southern States which had voted themselves out of the Union. Yet with all these damaging disadvantages, they came boldly to the front. Their ninth National convention met in Chicago on August 29, 1864, and on the first ballot nominated George B. McClellan for President, and George H. Pendleton for Vice-President. This was given out as an evidence of their loyalty, General McClellan having been the trusted commander of the Union forces. He had won some valuable victories in the early days of the war; he had organized, drilled, and put in the field a magnificent army, which he had successfully led to within sight of the spires of Richmond; when—his friends and admirers claimed—he was crippled, and, after seven days' furious fighting, was relieved from command, because he was a Democrat. Then when Lee invaded the North, and the authorities at Washington were panic-stricken, he was again called on, and at the bloody battle of Antietam he had turned Lee back, and forced him to recross the Potomac. The soldiers who had served under him were wildly enthusiastic over "Little Mac." His nomination was a well-considered and sagacious movement. But it was of no avail.

The platform declared "that in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution." It said that "after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war," hostilities should cease, and that immediate efforts should be made that "peace may be restored on the basis of the

Federal Union of the States." It declared that "the direct interference of the military authorities of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware, was a shameful violation of the Constitution." It denounced "the subversion of the civil to military law in States not in insurrection; the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial, and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force; the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press; the employment of unusual test oaths, etc., as calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union." This, with a resolution of sympathy for the soldiers, and a promise that they will receive all the care, protection, and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the Republic have so nobly earned, and the denunciation of "the shameful disregard" shown to our prisoners of war, completed the resolutions. This was no time to consider Cuba, or the Monroe Doctrine; the Fugitive Slave law, or slavery in the Territories; the tariff, or river and harbor improvements.

The Republican convention assembled in Baltimore on June 7, 1864. Its temporary chairman was the Rev. Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge, uncle of John C. Breckinridge, who had been Vice-President during Buchanan's term, had been the nominee of the Bolters for President in 1860, and had subsequently drawn his sword in the Southern cause.

It was a foregone conclusion that Mr. Lincoln would be renominated. He received every vote in the convention, save those from Missouri, which were cast for General Grant. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, was named for Vice-President. Although his own State had seceded, Johnson was an intense Union man. He was of humble birth and coarse habits, but he had great courage and force of character.

The convention pledged themselves "to do everything

in our power to aid the government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and to bring to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it." They opposed any terms of peace except unconditional surrender; and "as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength of the rebellion, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic." They approved of the Emancipation Proclamation, and favored an amendment to the Constitution to "forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States." They also gave their endorsement, "as within the provisions of the Constitution," to "the measures and acts adopted to defend the nation." With expressions of the most grateful and lasting regard for the soldiers and sailors, they turned to other subjects. They declared that foreign immigration should be fostered and encouraged, that the Pacific Railroad should be speedily constructed; that "it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency"; and they denounced the efforts of European powers "to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any republican government on the Western Continent."

Whenever any party becomes too numerous and powerful, there is apt to be discord in its councils and restlessness in its ranks. The Republican party experienced this in 1864. The malcontents thought to forestall the action of the regulars by calling a convention to meet in Cleveland on May 31st. Their platform was less verbose and less rhetorical than that of the regulars. In the main, the regulars appear to have taken and elaborated the resolutions of this "Rump" convention. It proclaimed that the Union must be preserved; the Constitution and the laws must be enforced; the rebellion must be crushed; slavery must be abolished, and its re-establishment

prohibited. But, although it was called "radical," it pronounced that "the rights of free speech, free press, and *habeas corpus* be held inviolate, save in districts where martial law has been declared." They were in favor of enforcing the Monroe Doctrine. They pronounced in favor of limiting the Presidency to one term by constitutional amendment, and having him elected by a direct vote of the people. They also resolved "that the question of reconstruction of the rebellious States belongs to the people, through their representatives in Congress, and not to the Executive." This last resolution, and the one relative to free speech and the *habeas corpus*, sounded strangely upon the lips of Republicans of that day.

The convention nominated John C. Fremont for President, and John C. Cochrane of New York for Vice-President. Shortly before the election, both of these candidates withdrew, and the reunited Republican party marched on to an easy victory. Votes were cast only in twenty-four States:

Lincoln received.....	2,216,067
McClellan "	1,808,725

The Democratic party certainly showed wonderful vitality and strength, handicapped as it was, as already pointed out.

Of the electoral vote ¹:

Lincoln received.....	212
McClellan "	21

¹ The electoral votes for Lincoln were: California, 5; Connecticut, 6; Illinois, 16; Indiana, 13; Iowa, 8; Kansas, 3; Maine, 7; Maryland, 7; Massachusetts, 12; Michigan, 8; Missouri, 11; Minnesota, 4; Nebraska, 3; Nevada, 2; New Hampshire, 5; New York, 33; Ohio, 21; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 26; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 5; West Virginia, 5; Wisconsin, 8—total, 212.

For McClellan: Delaware, 3; New Jersey, 7; Kentucky, 11—total, 21. States not voting: Alabama, 9; Arkansas, 4; Georgia, 10; Florida, 3; Louisiana, 12; Mississippi, 7; North Carolina, 10; South Carolina, 8; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 14; Virginia, 15—total, 104.

The thirty-ninth Congress had 40 Republicans and 11 Democrats in the Senate; 145 Republicans and 40 Democrats in the House.

The fortieth Congress contained 40 Republicans and 14 Democrats in the Senate; 138 Republicans, 47 Democrats in the House. There were three extra sessions of this Congress, whose chief business it was to checkmate the President, Johnson.

One month after Mr. Lincoln's second inauguration, Petersburg and Richmond were captured, and a week thereafter General Lee surrendered. The ghastly tragedy was ended—but not entirely. The jubilations of the people over the restoration of peace were abruptly checked. Their glad shouts were changed to subdued whispers of awe. Silent with horror, the nation's heart stood still, as the tidings spread that Mr. Lincoln had been assassinated. This was the terrible climax to a drama whose every scene was full of unutterable woes. Whether it was the act of a drunken fanatic, or of a malignant zealot, it was utterly devoid of any rational purpose. The day Lincoln fell was a far sadder one for the South than that on which they were constrained to confess that they had championed a "lost cause." For Mr. Lincoln was of the gentlest, kindest nature, full of the warmest sympathies and the most benevolent purposes. Of him it may be truly said, as was said of the King of Scotland when he was murdered:

"Besides, this Duncan
Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been
So clear in his great office, that his virtues
Will plead like angels, trumpet-tongued against
The deep damnation of his taking off."

Johnson was immediately sworn in as President; but he had scarcely warmed the executive chair before he became embroiled in an unseemly and bitter quarrel with Congress,

and with a portion of his Cabinet—the Cabinet which held over after the death of Lincoln. Johnson was a self-reliant, determined, and aggressive man. He had none of the tact and gentleness of his predecessor. Stanton, the Secretary of War, was no less pugnacious and domineering than the new President. Johnson removed his war secretary from office. Congress passed an act depriving the President of his power to dismiss officers without the consent of the Senate. This palpable infringement of the executive prerogative was justified upon the ground that, as appointments could only be made "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," neither could removals from office be made without such advice and consent. Johnson was not the man to tamely submit to be shorn of the right which had been exercised by all of his predecessors. And so the feud grew more bitter.

There never had been—and it is hoped never again will be—such an indiscriminating, passionate, and, it is scarcely too much to say, indecent, wrangle as that between the President and Congress. It culminated in 1868, when it was determined to impeach the President. Articles of impeachment were prepared by the House of Representatives, and presented to the Senate. It is indicative of the tense party feeling at the time that Johnson only escaped conviction by the aid of five Republican votes, although the charges against him were weak, almost to the degree of puerility. Two thirds were requisite to convict. The vote stood 35 (all Republicans) for conviction, 14 Democrats and 5 Republicans for acquittal.

The Southern States having been subdued, the grave question of their reconstruction demanded attention. President Lincoln, in 1863, had offered almost universal amnesty; and he had also agreed to recognize and sustain any State government which should be formed in the States lately in insurrection, if such government should

be endorsed by the votes of one tenth of the electors in 1860, the voting to be limited to those who had taken the oath of amnesty and allegiance. Quasi-State governments had been established in Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana under the protection of the Union army. Johnson recognized these governments, and appointed temporary governors for the other states, to enable them to rehabilitate themselves. He required as conditions of reconstruction that the Confederate war debt should be repudiated, the ordinances of secession be repealed, and the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution, abolishing slavery, should be ratified. If the ordinances of secession were void, and if these States had never really been out of the Union, as Johnson claimed, his logical position would have been, that, as the insurrection against Federal authority had ceased, these States could at once resume their former status in the Union, with all their rights unimpaired. But the public generally justified the conditions which he imposed as being necessary to the future peace of the country. Congress, however, even in Lincoln's time, had determined upon more radical measures. By their plan, military governors, with ample powers, were to control the lately insurgent States, until conventions, elected by popular vote, should meet, and by new constitutions re-create the State governments, which were to be considered as having committed suicide. In these elections, all were to be disfranchised who had held any office, civil or military, under the Confederate government, and all who had voluntarily served in the Confederate army. Under this restriction, there were scarcely any left who could vote, except a few degraded Southerners who had skulked service in the Confederate cause, a few loyal men who had been able to remain at home during the strife without compromising themselves; a few more who at the outbreak or during the hostilities had found refuge in the north, and had now

returned to gather up such fragments as remained of their desolated homes and devastated fields. To these were added a horde of hungry adventurers and ambitious politicians from the north. The cup of humiliation which the formerly high-spirited Southerner was compelled to drink received its last and bitterest ingredient when an amendment to the Federal Constitution was adopted guaranteeing equal civil rights to their former slaves. These poor creatures, never having had a will of their own, reared in the utmost ignorance, confiding and credulous by nature, were easily made the tools of the shrewd and unscrupulous "carpetbaggers." The governments formed under such auspices soon became organized systems of robbery, until the prostrate and impoverished South was stripped naked.

The Congressional plan of reconstruction was forced forward despite the opposition of the President, who was absolutely ignored. The immense Republican majority in Congress enabled them to pass laws regardless of the Executive. The Freedmen's Bureau, Civil Rights, and Tenure of Office Bills, were severally passed over the President's veto.

The Freedmen's Bureau was a plan by which government aid was to be extended to the liberated slaves; lands were to be sold to them at a low rate, and military protection was to be given them. If honestly and faithfully administered, its humane provisions might have redeemed it from many objectionable features. But the Democrats alleged that it was perverted to partisan purposes; that the officers of the bureau, by their position, gained complete control of the negroes, and used their votes for personal or party ends. For citizenship had already been conferred upon them by the Civil Rights Bill, and the right to suffrage was guaranteed them by an amendment to the Constitution, which had been passed by Congress and which was declared to be in full force

July 28, 1868. This was the Fourteenth Amendment. The Thirteenth—prohibiting slavery—had been declared in force December 18, 1865. The Fifteenth Amendment, in force March 30, 1870, prohibited the States from disfranchising any one "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

One clause of the Fourteenth Amendment rendered ineligible to office all who had, as officers, taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and thereafter engaged in insurrection or given aid and comfort thereto. Congress was given power, by a two-thirds vote, to remove this disability.

After a long and angry controversy, governments were formed in the recalcitrant States, and their representatives were admitted to Congress. President Johnson vainly attempted to defeat these Congressional measures; but they were passed over his veto. This was the third Vice-President who had succeeded to the Presidency by reason of the death of his chief, and who estranged his party from him.

Notwithstanding Johnson's unhappy domestic administration he won some *clat* by his foreign policy. Alaska was purchased from Russia, and for \$7,200,000 we acquired 500,000 square miles of land, with valuable fisheries and furs; and as has been recently discovered, vast gold deposits.

During the Civil War, Napoleon III. had overturned the Mexican government, and had established Maximilian, an archduke of Austria, upon the throne of the Montezumas. This bold and insolent defiance of the Monroe Doctrine, to sustain which all parties had repeatedly committed themselves, could not be resented while the struggle for national existence continued. But peace being restored, and an immense army of trained veteran soldiers at hand,—many of the late Confederates showing equal readiness with the Union soldiers to join forces

in expelling the invader from the soil of our neighboring government, and in ploughing up the seed of European monarchical institutions which he had planted,—the recall of the French troops was imperatively demanded. This being acceded to, Maximilian's empire crumpled to dust, and that hapless, deluded, and abandoned monarch was executed by the Mexican authorities.

March 1, 1867, Nebraska became a State.

The next quadrennial election drew on, with the issues growing out of the war dominating all others.

The Democratic convention met in New York, and was in session from July 4th until the 11th. They renewed their expression of confidence in the people, and devotion to the Constitution. They declared that the questions of slavery and secession had been settled for all time, and with the return of peace they demanded "the immediate restoration of all the States to their rights in the Union under the Constitution, and civil government to the American people; amnesty for all political offences, and the regulation of the elective franchise in the States by their citizens; to deprive any State of this right, or interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant usurpation of power which can find no warrant in the Constitution; that we regard the reconstruction acts (so-called) as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void." They cried out against the nullification of the right of trial by jury; the abolishment of the *habeas corpus*; the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press; arbitrary searches and seizures; interference by Congress with the exercise of executive functions, etc., etc.

In the stress of war, the United States had borrowed immense sums of money, for which the bonds of the government had been issued. Government notes, called greenbacks, were also issued, and by act of Congress made a legal tender for the payment of debts. The

Democrats declared "where the obligations of the Government do not expressly state on their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide, that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and justice, to be paid in lawful money of the United States"; that there should be "one currency for the Government and the people, the laborer and the office-holder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder."

It may be well here, in passing, to note the promulgation of a doctrine which, with its collateral issues, was to figure prominently in future contests.

The resolution upon the tariff sounds very unlike some of the other deliverances of the party. It favors "a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation under the Internal Revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon, and best promote and encourage, the great industrial interests of the country." It was further resolved that the "convention cordially sympathize with the workingmen in their efforts to protect the rights and interests of the laboring classes."

They also, but somewhat timidly, approve the use of the proceeds of the sale of public lands "for the encouragement of important public improvements." President Johnson was thanked for his courageous resistance of Congressional aggression upon his constitutional rights, and Chief Justice Chase was thanked "for the justice, dignity, and impartiality" with which he had presided at the impeachment trial of President Johnson.

When the convention settled down to the work of making nominations, George H. Pendleton was in the lead, which position he held during eight ballots. From the sixteenth to the thirty-first, inclusive, General Hancock was in the front, with Thomas A. Hendricks fast gaining on him. Horatio Seymour, of New York, was in the

chair, and when some votes were cast for him he said to the convention: "Your candidate I cannot be." But once more a stampede took place, and Mr. Seymour received every vote in the convention. The enthusiasm was so wild and earnest that Mr. Seymour yielded and accepted the nomination. The ticket was completed by the unanimous nomination of General Francis P. Blair of Missouri as Vice-President.

Although this nomination was made by one of those sudden and inexplicable impulses which sometimes sweep through popular assemblages, as had been the case in 1844, when Polk was nominated, and in 1852, when Pierce was chosen, Seymour was by no means an unknown man. He had been Governor of New York, and was universally recognized as a man of the highest character, and of eminent abilities.

The Republicans determined to appeal once more to the patriotic gratitude of the American people, and to their well-proven love for military renown. They nominated General Grant, who was without any experience in civil affairs, and who had always been a Democrat, so far as he had indicated any party predilections. But he had stubbornly and ably fought the war to a successful issue, and had aided the Republicans in their contest with President Johnson. And yet, notwithstanding the Republican resolution of 1864 pledging themselves to bring "to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it"—the government—General Grant had paroled General Lee and his soldiers, and had permitted them to return home, taking their horses with them, to resume an agricultural and peaceful life. Balloting for the Vice-Presidential nomination began with bluff old Ben. Wade, of Ohio, in the lead. Fenton of New York, Wilson of Massachusetts, and Colfax of Indiana were close at his heels in the order given. Seven others showed some strength on the first ballot. On the next

two ballots Curtin of Pennsylvania and Hamlin of Maine held their place with the four first named. On the fourth ballot, Curtin's votes were transferred to Colfax, but Wade was still ahead. On the fifth ballot, there was a general concentration on Colfax, and he was nominated, having received 541 votes, 38 remaining faithful to Wade, and 69 to Fenton.

The platform opens with congratulations upon the success of the reconstruction policy of Congress. It declares that equal suffrage to all loyal men of the South must be maintained; "while the question of suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States."

The insurgent States—or all but four of them—having been readmitted to the Union, with local governments fully recognized, it is impossible to see by what casuistry they were denied the rights which it was conceded the other States possessed.

The financial resolution was not as clear and unequivocal as that of the Democratic party upon a question then being warmly discussed. It declared that the national debt should be paid "not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted." President Johnson was roundly denounced as having "acted treacherously to the people who elected him, and the cause he was pledged to support, for his usurpation of high legislative and judicial functions; for his abuse of the pardoning power; for resistance of Congressional reconstruction, and who had been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five Senators." This last resolution was an appeal from the court of last resort, and only served to show the unyielding and uncompromising bitterness of the period. Foreign immigration, they said, "should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy," and naturalized citizens, as fully as

native born, should be protected abroad as at home. The convention was held in Chicago, May 20-21, 1868.

Upon the popular vote the parties were very evenly balanced. In a total of nearly 6,000,000 votes, there was a difference of only about 300,000. The exact returns gave :

Grant	3,015,071
Seymour.....	2,709,613

Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia had not voted, not yet having been reconstructed or re-admitted, nor was there any general election in Florida, the legislature having cast the votes for President.

The electoral vote stood ¹ :

For Grant.....	214
" Seymour (including vote of Georgia).....	80
Not voting.....	23

The forty-first Congress had 61 Republicans, 11 Democrats in the Senate, with two vacancies; 170 Republicans, 73 Democrats in the House.

In the forty-second Congress there were in the Senate 57 Republicans, 17 Democrats; in the House, 139 Republicans, 104 Democrats. Mississippi, Texas, Virginia, and Georgia were not represented.

General Grant was a very reticent and modest man; but, with all, he had wonderful self-reliance and tenacity.

¹ The electoral votes for Grant were: Alabama, 8; Arkansas, 5; California, 5; Connecticut, 6; Florida, 3; Illinois, 16; Indiana, 13; Iowa, 8; Kansas, 3; Maine, 7; Massachusetts, 12; Michigan, 8; Minnesota, 4; Missouri, 11; Nebraska, 3; Nevada, 3; New Hampshire, 5; North Carolina, 9; Ohio, 21; Pennsylvania, 26; Rhode Island, 4; South Carolina, 6; Tennessee, 10; Vermont, 5; West Virginia, 5; Wisconsin, 8—total, 214.

For Seymour were: Delaware, 3; Georgia, 9; Kentucky, 11; Louisiana, 7; Maryland, 7; New Jersey, 7; New York, 33; Oregon, 3—total, 80.

The vote of Georgia was thrown out, the State not having been "reconstructed."

States not voting: Mississippi, 7; Texas, 6; Virginia, 10—total, 23.

He had implicit confidence in his friends, which quality, when friends are well chosen and deserving, wins the admiration even of those who are not within the favored circle. Unfortunately, some of General Grant's intimates were unworthy of the trust he reposed in them. During the war there had been considerable scandal growing out of the cotton speculations carried on with General Grant's permission; but, probably, in violation of the spirit of the authority given. And after he became President, gigantic and glaring frauds were perpetrated by what was known as "the Whiskey Ring."

Grant was made to suffer at the hands of his friends in another way. In 1869, a combination was formed in New York to speculate in gold. A relative of the President was a member of the syndicate; and the Assistant Treasurer at New York co-operated in the scheme. Through the influence of these men and others, the President was induced to advise the Secretary of the Treasury to suspend the usual sales of government gold. By similar influence, information was secured as to the precise amount of gold in the United States Treasury, and the amount held by the banks throughout the country. Thus fortified, the combination quietly bought gold and forced up the premium. On one day — September 24th gold rose from 150 to 162 in two hours. Consternation prevailed in Wall Street. The appeals for government aid were clamorous and imperative, and finally could no longer be resisted. Four million dollars of United States gold was thrown on the market, and the price fell to 140. The Gold Exchange was the scene of the wildest panic. It was strewn with the dismal wrecks of fortunes, and filled with faces stamped with deadly despair. "Black Friday" will never be forgotten. General Grant could not escape some of the odium of this shameful transaction. He was again the victim of his too confiding nature. It may be unreasonable to hold a President responsible for

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e dishonesty of his appointees to office. But the existing administration has always been held accountable for whatever jobbery, speculation, and fraud may be practiced by its subordinates. The more unscrupulous, for political effect, have gone to the extreme of trying to cast upon an administration responsibility for natural calamities, and their results of diminished exports, reduced railroad earnings, and financial disturbances. All such things are grist to the mill of the political opponents; and they are eagerly ground into food for the credulous. President Grant's administration could not be exempted from the usual rule.

Congress passed an act authorizing the people of the states not yet "reconstructed"—Texas, Mississippi, and Virginia—to vote upon the constitutions newly prepared for them. But before they could be readmitted they were required to ratify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution.

In a case brought before the Supreme Court of the United States, it had been decided that the insurgent states had never been out of the Union; that the ordinances of secession were absolutely void. That being so, it is difficult to understand how the reconstruction acts could be held to be valid. Yet it was decided that they were constitutional. But the decision did not end the discussion and dissension on the subject.

The forty-third Congress had 57 Republicans, 17 Democrats in the Senate; 138 Republicans, 103 Democrats in the House. This Congress met on March 4, 1871, as all Congresses had done since 1866, in pursuance of a law then passed. After this (1871) the original custom was resumed, for Congress to meet in regular session on the first Monday of December.

What is historically known as the "Force Bill" was passed in 1871. It was fashioned, in part, after the Sedition Act of 1798, and was based on the assumption that

- a state of war existed. And yet all of the insurrectionary States had been reconstructed, and readmitted to the Union. It was charged by the Democrats that this was a palpable attempt to control the elections by means of the military and deputy marshals.

During this same year (1871), the first attempt was made to establish a Civil Service Commission. It was so unpopular a measure that in 1874 Congress refused to vote money for maintaining the commission, and it died for want of nutriment, although the President and his Cabinet strongly urged its continuance.

An effort was made to annex San Domingo to the United States. It was charged that this was a scheme of corruption and money-making, in which a favored few were to be the beneficiaries. The treaty of annexation negotiated September 4, 1869, was rejected by the Senate. Thereupon the President suggested annexation by joint resolution, as had been done in the case of Texas. This would require but a bare majority in each House; whereas the treaty required ratification by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. But this also failed.

But a diplomatic victory in another field was won, which redounded to the glory of Grant's administration. During the Civil War, privateers had been commissioned by the Confederate government which played havoc with the commerce of the United States. Several cruisers— notable and most destructive amongst them the *Alabama* — were built and manned in England. Her mission was not concealed. The United States Minister to Great Britain had called the attention of the Queen's government to the infraction of the neutrality laws in process of consummation. He filed an urgent protest against the encouraging inaction. Yet the vessel was permitted to depart from an English port, and in charge of a British officer. At the Azores, arms and ammunition were transferred to her in British vessels. She was there

turned over to Captain Semmes, who bore a commission from the President of the Confederacy, and started on a remarkable career of indiscriminate seizure and destruction of all vessels carrying the United States flag. She was finally sunk by the United States man-of-war *Kearsarge*. The British government had refused to be responsible for the destruction of our ships and commerce. The old-time anti-British feeling was revived and intensified by the sympathy and aid which our ancient enemy had, in various ways, given to the Confederates during the recent struggle. War was threatened, and probably was only averted by a treaty between the United States and Great Britain, by which the disputed claim was to be submitted to a Board of Arbitrators. This board gave an award in favor of the United States for \$15,500,000.

There was a further contention between the United States and Great Britain with reference to the north-western boundary between this country and British America. This dispute was referred to the Emperor of Germany as arbitrator. The decision was in favor of the line claimed by the United States.

The Democrats could make no objections to these portions of the foreign policy of President Grant's administration; but they made all the capital possible out of the Southern situation, and out of the scandals already alluded to. Yet continued defeat in the three preceding Presidential and seven Congressional elections had destroyed much of their old-time vigor and aggressiveness. They came to the campaign in 1872 with laggard and halting steps. They were not reduced to the same extremity as the Whigs were in 1856, when they accepted, as their own, the candidates of a mysterious party with "peculiar principles"; but they were willing to sacrifice their long record of self-sufficiency and independent action, hoping that the incense from such a sacrifice would appease the

angry gods who had wrought their defeat for so many years. They seized the opportunity to manifest their self-abnegation which was furnished them by a convention of dissatisfied Republicans.

Many who had been recognized and revered as apostles of Republicanism had become disaffected. These men felt that the purposes for which they had labored in the foundation and building up of their party had been attained. Slavery was extirpated; the rebellion was crushed. They thought it high time that war memories should be obliterated; that all war measures should cease; that North and South should "shake hands across the bloody chasm" in a veritably fraternal spirit; that the bonds of Union should be strengthened by abandoning the *inter-bellum* policy, which continued to cause irritation and prolong estrangement; that the continued exercise of unusual powers, and the enforcement of unusual laws, was fast destroying respect for all authority. They also believed that the civil service was honeycombed with corruption, and that official patronage was grossly abused. In all of those things the Democrats would certainly sympathize. Whether or not they had this in view is uncertain. But it is perfectly clear that they would not submit to the action of the regular convention of their own party, which they confidently anticipated.

This movement was inaugurated in Missouri in 1870, and was headed by B. Gratz Brown and Carl Schurz. The Democrats co-operated with them, and the State was carried against the National administration. Early in 1871 the disaffected Republicans and the Democrats of Ohio were displaying evidences of platonic affection. The new political power determined to assert itself on a broader field.

Hence the "Liberal Republican" convention was called and met in Cincinnati, May 1, 1872, and nominated Horace Greeley for President, and B. Gratz Brown of

Missouri for Vice-President. The candidate for Vice-President had won consideration by having led a movement in his own State against the extremists of his party. He and his followers were for "universal amnesty and universal enfranchisement." Upon this platform they were supported by the Democrats, and carried the State as already stated. This success had encouraged those holding like views in other States, and resulted in the convention just alluded to.

Horace Greeley, who was chosen to head the ticket, had been one of the foremost, ablest, and most consistent supporters of the anti-slavery crusade, and one of the most earnest architects in building up the Republican party.

The platform declared a recognition of "the equality of all men before the law—of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political"; in favor of "the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the rebellion; and "that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country," in favor of local self-governments, the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and for "a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitation of powers." They denounced the civil service "as a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition, and an object of selfish greed"; and to reform these abuses, they declared that "no President shall be a candidate for re-election." They pronounced against every form of repudiation, and for a speedy return to specie payment. To avoid splitting on the tariff rock, they steered away from it, and remitted the question to the people of the several Congressional districts. Eight years later, when General Hancock said the tariff was a local issue, he was greatly ridiculed. And yet every time the question is discussed, and its adjustment attempted, the votes of most men are governed by local interest.

But the regular organization of the Republican party did not propose to abdicate or be deposed. Their convention sat in Philadelphia, June 5th to 6th. President Grant was renominated by a unanimous vote. After a brief struggle, Vice-President Colfax was thrown overboard, and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts was nominated as his successor. On the first roll-call Wilson received 361 votes, Colfax 306. To pretend to aid what had already been accomplished, a number of votes were changed from Colfax to Wilson, and the result, as announced, was Wilson 399½.

The platform opens with a eulogistic recital of the achievements of the Republican party. They declared that the recent amendments to the Constitution "should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation." This was, perhaps, as bold an endorsement of the Force Bill as they cared to venture, in view of the opposition its enactment had aroused in their own party. They also declared for "complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights." This must be understood in a Pickwickian sense, inasmuch as the Force Bill applied only to Southern States. Upon the tariff, they were more pronounced than their liberal brethren. They said "the internal taxes should be restricted to tobacco and liquors; and the customs duties so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country." The franking privilege should be abolished, and the rates of postage reduced. Legislation should be so shaped that labor should receive its just share of the mutual profits caused by its combination with capital (?). Any form of repudiation was denounced as a national crime, and the speedy resumption of specie payment hoped for.

The Democratic convention, which assembled in Baltimore, July 9, 1872, accepted the principles of the Liberal

Republicans "as essential to just government." They considered, or professed to consider, this as sufficient, and passed no other resolutions. But they did a still more remarkable thing when they accepted as their candidates the nominees of the Liberal Republicans. For almost half a century Horace Greeley had bitterly, and in unmeasured terms, assailed the Democratic party. A reciprocal hatred had existed for more than a generation. Greeley had softened the animosity against him in the South by going upon the bail-bond of Jefferson Davis, and securing his release from prison after a long confinement. And he was strenuously opposed to the continued disfranchisement and proscription of the Confederates. He believed, with the Democrats, in local self-government, the supremacy of the civil law, the maintenance of free speech, free press, and the *habeas corpus*. His well-known strong protectionist views were not abandoned, but relegated to Congressional action. Notwithstanding all these elements of conciliation, it was not so much to accept and honor Greeley as to aid in disrupting the Republican party, that the Democrats agreed to inscribe the names of Greeley and Brown upon their banners.

But the rock-ribbed Democrats would not consent to this abandonment of the traditions of their party. They were unwilling to have their party made the tail to the kite of any other. They held a convention on September 3, 1872, and nominated Charles O'Connor of New York for President, and John Quincy Adams for Vice-President. In their selection of Adams they were no more consistent than the regulars of their party had been; for Adams had been a Whig, and was the third generation of his blood who were Anti-Democrats, and he had never affiliated with the Democracy.

This convention resolved that the party had "been betrayed at Baltimore into a false creed and a false leadership, and we repudiate both"; that "principle is to be

preferred to power," and that they would "never surrender (their principles) for all the offices which Presidents can confer." They re-affirmed their adherence to the Democratic theories of government, including the rights of the States, and limitations upon the powers of the Federal Government, "which powers must be exercised in the utmost good faith, the Constitution itself stating in what manner they may be altered and amended." They also said that the interests of labor and capital should be harmonized by judicious legislation, and that pending the existing conflict between them, "labor, which is the parent of wealth, is entitled to paramount consideration."

But the assurances of sympathy with the workingman which from time to time had been given by the old parties were not sufficient to satisfy them. They wanted something more than "glittering generalities." They called a Labor Reform convention, which met in Columbus, February 21, 1872. The programme which they enunciated was: that a purely national currency shall be established, and issued directly to the people without the intervention of banking corporations, which currency should be a legal tender for all debts, and be interchangeable, at the option of the holder, for government bonds carrying interest at a rate not to exceed 3.65 %. They maintained that the public debt "should be paid in good faith, according to the original contract," and that government bonds should be taxed as other property. They were for free homesteads; for the admission, free of duty, "such articles of common use as we can neither produce nor grow," and for levying "duties for revenue mainly upon articles of luxury, and upon such articles of manufacture as will, we having the raw materials, assist in further developing the resources of the country." Chinese immigration should be prohibited; contract labor in prisons abolished; a law enacted, making eight

hours' labor a full day, of general application; that money needed for prosecuting wars should be collected from the wealthy; and that the general government should control the railroad and telegraph companies. They declared "in favor of limiting the occupancy of the presidential chair to one term." They were in "favor of general amnesty and the subordination of the military to the civil authorities."

Upon this very comprehensive platform, with its numerous unprecedented declarations, they put up David Davis, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, as their candidate for President, and Joel Parker, an ex-governor of New Jersey, for Vice-president. These nominees realized the truth of the homely adage that "politics makes strange bed-fellows." They declined the nominations, and their places were subsequently filled by the selection of Charles O'Connor and John Quincy Adams—the nominees on the Straight-Out Democratic ticket.

1872 was a memorable year for national conventions. Four have already been referred to. A fifth was called in the name of the Prohibition party. Its name sufficiently indicates its purpose. Its first convention met in Columbus, February 22, 1872; and every four years since they have formed their ticket and promulgated their views, undiscouraged by the fact that they have never yet secured an electoral vote, but encouraged, on the other hand, by the growing strength of their popular vote.

They were determined that their first platform should not justify the stigma that they had but one idea. After reciting the evils of intoxicating beverages, and demanding their suppression by national and State legislation, they invite co-operation upon other grounds. They declare that the President and Vice-president should be elected directly by the people; that fixed salaries should be substituted for fees; that removals from office should

not be made " for mere political differences of opinion " ; that the charges for ocean and inland postage, railroads, telegraph, and transportation service " should be made as low as possible by law " ; that " suffrage should be granted to all without regard to sex. " They were for " a sound national currency, adequate to the demands of business and convertible into gold and silver at the will of the holder. "

They nominated James Black of Pennsylvania for President, and Rev. John Russell of Michigan for Vice-President.

The election took place on November 5, 1872, and resulted as follows :

Grant	had.....	3,597,070 votes
Greeley	"	2,834,079 "
O'Connor	"	29,489 "
Black	"	5,608 "

The wisdom of the framers of the Constitution was strongly brought out in the provision creating electoral colleges; for about three weeks after the popular election, and before the electoral colleges had assembled, Horace Greeley died. Had he been the successful candidate at the polls, great confusion must have resulted but for the system devised by the Constitution. The Democratic and Liberal Republican electors met in the several States which they had carried, but without any previous consultation, and hence without any concert of action. As a result, their votes were scattered. Grant received the full vote of the Republican States. The detailed vote was as follows¹:

¹ Electoral votes for Grant : Maine, 7 ; New Hampshire, 5 ; Vermont, 5 ; Massachusetts, 13 ; Rhode Island, 4 ; Connecticut, 6 ; New York, 35 ; New Jersey, 9 ; Pennsylvania, 29 ; Delaware, 3 ; Virginia, 11 ; North Carolina, 10 ; South Carolina, 7 ; Alabama, 10 ; Ohio, 22 ; Indiana, 15 ; Illinois, 21 ; Mississippi, 8 ; Michigan, 11 ; Florida, 4 ; Iowa, 11 ; Wisconsin,

For President:

Grant.....	286
Hendricks.....	49
Gratz Brown.....	18
Jenkins of Georgia.....	2
David Davis.....	1
Not voting.....	17

For Vice-President:

Henry Wilson.....	286
Gratz Brown.....	47
Geo. W. Julian of Indiana.....	5
A. H. Colquitt of Georgia.....	5
John M. Palmer of Illinois.....	3
W. S. Groesbeck of Ohio.....	1
Willis B. Machen of Kentucky.....	1
N. P. Banks of Massachusetts.....	1
Not voting.....	14

At this election for the forty-third Congress, 203 Republicans and 88 Democrats were returned; and there was one vacancy. The Senate then stood : 54 Republicans, 19 Democrats, and 1 vacancy.

The forty-fourth Congress had in the Senate 46 Republicans, 29 Democrats, with 1 vacancy. In the House were 107 Republicans, 181 Democrats, 3 Independents, with 2 vacancies.

The elections of 1872 being over, Congress met on 10; California, 6; Minnesota, 5; Oregon, 3; Kansas, 5; West Virginia, 5; Nevada, 3; Nebraska, 3—total, 286.

Mr. Greeley having died before the electoral colleges met, the votes which he would have received were divided as follows :

For Hendricks: Maryland, 8; Kentucky, 8; Tennessee, 12; Missouri, 6; Texas, 8—total, 42.

For Gratz Brown: Georgia, 6; Kentucky, 4; Missouri, 8—total, 18.

For Chas. J. Jenkins: Georgia, 2—total, 2.

For David Davis: Missouri, 1—total, 1.

Three votes were cast in Georgia for Horace Greeley which were excluded from the count.

The electoral votes of Louisiana and Arkansas were not counted.

December 2d. Among the first things to demand attention was the grave charge, boldly made, that a number of persons, high in official position, had been guilty of corruption. The Vice-President and the Vice-President-Elect, the Secretary of the Treasury, some Senators, and many representatives were implicated. It was alleged that several years before (1867-68) these persons had been bribed to secure their votes and influence in favor of measures which did, or might, affect the interests of the Pacific Railroad Company. To aid in the construction of this work, a financial agency, called "Credit Mobilier," had been incorporated and organized. It was charged that shares of the stock of this company had been presented, or sold at a nominal price, to the men whose co-operation it was desirable to secure. This scandal created an intense and widespread commotion.

A committee of investigation was appointed by the House of Representatives, with Judge Poland of Vermont as chairman. The committee reported on February 18, 1873, recommending the expulsion of Oakes Ames of Massachusetts for disposing of shares of the Credit Mobilier stock with the intent of corrupting its recipients. It was also recommended that James Brooks of New York be expelled for accepting such stock. Instead of expelling these members, the House thought its virtue would be vindicated and its dignity maintained by an "absolute condemnation" of the two guilty members. A number of other gentlemen were badly smirched, and the exposures were used for political or partisan purposes.

That Congress also furnished an element of political capital by raising the salary of the President to \$50,000 a year, and that of Senators and representatives to \$7500. If this law had been only prospective in its operation, there would have been but little complaint. But it was deemed highly reprehensible that men who

had been elected to, and accepted, office at a salary of \$5000 should vote themselves \$2500 extra. It was denounced as a "Salary Grab," and was condemned by the constituents of some who had voted for, or even accepted, the increased compensation.

It was during Grant's second administration that disclosures were made which led to the impeachment of General Belknap, the Secretary of War. He was charged with having prostituted his office by the sale of post-traderships. He resigned before the articles of impeachment were presented to the Senate. The vote for his conviction, notwithstanding his resignation, was 36 against 25 for his acquittal. As two thirds was necessary to pronounce a judgment of guilty, he was acquitted.

Another episode in this administration was an investigation of the charge that Mr. Blaine, when Speaker of the House, had made a certain ruling with a corrupt purpose, and had received a valuable consideration therefor.

As will be seen presently, the Democrats took good care that these things should not be forgotten or overlooked by the people.

Grant was declared elected the second time, as already stated. But out of this election there grew a conflict between Federal and State authorities, which left Louisiana in a continuous turmoil for several years; the cause and effect of which had a powerful influence on the succeeding presidential election.

A species of political machinery had been devised, in some of the Southern States, called "Returning Boards." The ostensible object was to prevent the intimidation of the negro voters. But it is no doubt true that the projectors of the plan were quite as much concerned in providing a means to perpetuate their own power. The Returning Boards had the power to canvass the votes, and to throw out the entire vote of all parishes wherein,

according to the judgment of the board, there had been intimidation or fraud. This would be immense power to confide to the hands of the most upright citizens, to be exercised in the most dispassionate manner. But it was absolutely alarming when entrusted to irresponsible and unscrupulous men, to be exercised under the stress of great excitement, and when the political fate and fortune of themselves and those who appointed them depended upon their action. Men were appointed to or removed from office on account of their ability or inability to control the Returning Board. At last there were two Returning Boards, and, as a result, two legislatures and two State governments in Louisiana. John McEnery was declared and recognized as governor by the Democrats, while William Pitt Kellogg was supported by the Republicans. Kellogg found in the United States district judge a ready and subservient tool. Judge Durell ordered the United States Marshal to seize the State House and prevent the McEnery legislature from assembling. This proved futile, for the legislature met elsewhere and organized. The McEnery and Kellogg governments were both proclaimed, and both sought recognition by Congress. And, in a way, both succeeded, and neither did. The Senate committee reported that the McEnery government had the advantage of law in its favor, while the Kellogg government was more of a *de facto* one; that the whole election should be pronounced void, and a new one should be held. In the midst of this muddle the forty-second Congress expired, but the contest in Louisiana continued.

After the lapse of more than twenty years, it is difficult to conceive that such a condition of affairs could have been possible as existed in Louisiana. And it is quite as difficult to form a just and impartial opinion upon many phases of the controversy. Statements of alleged facts were so conflicting, affidavits against

affidavits so numerous and so brazen, that the attempt to investigate ends in disgust and doubt. It is pretty evident that force and fraud were struggling for the mastery. If negroes were outraged and intimidated so that they did not vote in certain parishes, fraudulent registration and false returns were freely thrown into the other side of the scales. Yet it cannot be claimed that all of the force was upon one side or all of the fraud on the other. The Kellogg government had the United States soldiers at its back. It may be truthfully said that the troops were in front and all around this government. The McEnery government had the substantial citizens with it, and they were determined not to be dominated by "carpetbaggers" and their negro allies or instruments. At last, in the fall of 1874, McEnery's adherents took forcible possession of the State offices. The Kelloggs sought shelter in the custom-house, under the Federal flag. Upon an appeal to the President, troops were placed at Kellogg's command, and he was speedily reinstalled.

The next session of the State legislature opened in January, 1875. As was to be expected, there were numerous contested seats, which the McEnery party summarily disposed of in favor of their own men, and at once organized the House. This was a short-lived victory. The newly-installed members had scarcely adjusted themselves to their seats when they were driven thence by Federal troops. It is not too much to say that this was an unparalleled and inexcusable outrage. Such a use of the military power of the Federal Government in the affairs of a State not in insurrection was an ignoring and trampling upon the autonomy of the State, and a dangerous menace to sister States.

The Democratic, or McEnery, members withdrew from the legislature which had been united together with bayonets, and once more two State governments were established, both claiming to be legal. So they

continued under a sort of armed truce, until their rivalry was made to play an important part in a more momentous issue than that of their immediate locality.

The combination of causes referred to wrought a political revolution throughout the country. For the first time since the Civil War, the Democrats elected a large majority of the representatives in Congress, they having 181 to 107 Republicans and 3 Independents. Michael C. Kerr of Indiana was elected Speaker upon the opening of the forty-fourth Congress. At the second session, Mr. Kerr having died, Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania was chosen Speaker.

A bill providing for government aid to the International Exposition in celebration of the centennial of American Independence elicited in its favor several earnest speeches by ex-Confederates in the House, which did a great deal to allay the animosities of the late war.

During this Congress an act was passed providing for the resumption of specie payments on January 1, 1879. This long preliminary notice was to enable the Treasury and the business community to adjust themselves to the prospective change in the currency of the country. Many believed that the delay was unnecessary. For some time there had been an urgent demand for resumption, and the Treasury, it was believed, would have no difficulty in responding to the demand.

During this year (1875) the Whiskey Ring was exposed. It was a combination of distillers and Federal officers by which the government was defrauded; part of the stealings were divided amongst the ring, and part used in political corruption. A number were convicted in St. Louis, but the President's private secretary, Babcock, was acquitted.

The Democratic convention of 1876 met in St. Louis, June 27th. It sounded the battle-cry of "Reform." "Reform is necessary to rebuild and establish in the

hearts of the whole people of the Union. Reform is necessary to establish sound currency. Reform in Federal taxation. Reform in public expenses. Reform in the profligate waste of public lands. Reform in foreign policy, to protest further influx of Mongolians. Reform in election methods. Reform in the civil service." Attention is called to

"the disgrace and censure of a Vice-President, a late Speaker of the House of Representatives, marketing his rulings as a presiding officer; three Senators profiting secretly by their votes as lawmakers, five chairmen of the leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery; a late Secretary of the Treasury forcing balances in public accounts; a late Attorney-General misappropriating public funds; a Secretary of the Navy enriched or enriching friends by percentages levied off the profits of contractors with his department; an Ambassador to England censured in dishonorable speculation; the President's private secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a Secretary of War impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors."

Accompanying this arraignment of the administration there is a renewed pledge of fidelity to the Union, the Constitution, and the laws; a denunciation of corrupt centralism; the rapacity of carpetbag tyrannies, etc. The existing tariff is condemned as "a masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretence. We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue." They also demanded a speedy return to specie payments.

Upon the second ballot, Samuel J. Tilden was nominated for President, and his principal competitor for that honor — Thomas A. Hendricks — was nominated by a unanimous vote for the second place.

The Republican convention was held in Cincinnati, June 14 and 15, 1876. They were as violent in their

charges against their opponents as the Democrats were against them. It was

"the same in character and spirit, as when it sympathized with treason ; its control of the House of Representatives ; the triumph and opportunity of the nation's foes ; applauding the sentiments of unrepentant rebels, with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the Government."

Upon the disturbed condition of the South they

"declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the Government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights."

They pledged themselves to the resumption of specie payments at the earliest practicable period. They opposed the use of public funds for sectarian schools and institutions. The effect of Mongolian immigration upon the moral and material interests of the country should be investigated. Senators and representatives should not dictate appointments to office ; official malfeasance should be severely punished. Duties upon imports, " as far as possible, should be so adjusted as to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country " ; advancement of female suffrage is commended.

The balloting for nomination opened with Blaine far in the lead, Oliver P. Morton, Benj. H. Bristow, Roscoe Conkling, R. B. Hayes, and John F. Hartranft following in the order named. During six ballots Blaine's friends stood steadfast, and drew others to them. But it was only to see what so often happens—a combination against

the strongest candidate. The prize almost within the grasp of "the plumed knight" was snatched from him. He, with Morton, Bristow, and Conkling, was pushed aside to make way for a much less able and renowned leader. The seventh ballot stood: Rutherford B. Hayes, 384; James G. Blaine, 351; Benj. H. Bristow, 21.

The vote for Vice-President stood: Wheeler, 366; Frelinghuysen, 89; Jewell, 86; Woodford, 70; Hawley, 25. Before the result was announced, changes of votes were made, and William A. Wheeler of New York was nominated by acclamation.

Dissatisfaction with the two most prominent parties; a strong espousal of special theories, aided, no doubt, by an ambitious desire on the part of some to figure conspicuously in national politics, found expression in three other conventions.

The Greenback convention was held in Indianapolis, May 17, 1876. Peter Cooper of New York was nominated for President, and Samuel F. Cary of Ohio for Vice-President.

They alleged that the prostrate condition of general industries and the depression of labor were caused "by a ruinous policy which the Republican and Democratic parties refused to change." And they demanded "the immediate and unconditional repeal of the Specie Resumption Act of January 14, 1875." They advocated the issuing by the United States of notes convertible on demand into bonds bearing 3.65 % interest, and exchangeable for United States notes at par, and which should be full legal tender for all purposes, except where existing contracts called for payment in coin. National bank notes were to be suppressed, and no gold bonds should be sold in foreign markets, nor issued for the purchase of silver, "which although well calculated to enrich owners of silver mines, yet in operation it will still further oppress in taxation an already overburdened people."

The Prohibition party, whose convention met in Cleveland, May 17th, had abated none of its zeal in the cause of temperance. But it enlarged the scope of its efforts and desires for reform. The Constitution should be amended so as to make prohibitory liquor laws universal and permanent, and treaties should be made to prevent the importation and exportation of all alcoholic beverages. There should be equal suffrage without regard to race, creed, property, or sex. Lotteries and stock and grain gambling should be suppressed, as also polygamy and the social evil. Observance of the Christian Sabbath should be enforced, as well as compulsory education. The Bible should be used in public schools, but sectarianism should not be promoted. There should be international arbitration to settle all disputes. Barbarous modes and instruments of punishment should be abolished. Executive and legislative patronage should be taken away, and civil officers, including President, Vice-President, and Senators, should be elected directly by the people. Government moneys should be withdrawn from banking institutions, and such institutions should be denied the right to issue paper money. Salaries should be reduced, sinecures, fees, and perquisites abolished, and strict economy enjoined.

This alluring programme, worthy of Sir Thomas More, attracted the suffrages of less than 10,000 voters in a total of over 8,000,000. The result should not be construed into a general unwillingness for a reformation in the schedule of evils, but rather a conviction that mankind was not prepared for or adapted to Utopian theories.

Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, was nominated for President, and was left to run the race alone, no nomination being made for the Vice-Presidency.

The American National convention was another organization which felt reform to be its mission. They announced "that ours is a Christian and not a heathen

nation; that God is the author of civil government; that God requires and man needs a Sabbath"; that the liquor traffic should be prohibited; that secret societies should not be incorporated; that the recent amendments to the Constitution should be preserved inviolate; that there should be international arbitration; the Bible should be used in all educational institutions; monopolies should be discountenanced; sound money and a speedy resumption of specie payments were advocated; electoral colleges should be abolished, etc.

It would seem that the fine shades of difference between this platform and that of the Prohibitionists might have been blended into a harmonious whole. But it was not to be so; and an independent ticket was put up. James B. Walker of Illinois was named for President, and Donald Kirkpatrick of New York for Vice-President.

This party appears to have died soon after its birth. It was never heard of afterwards, unless its votes were disguised as "scattering."

The campaign of 1876 was one of the most animated, most hotly contested, and closest in its results of any of recent years. The Republicans made a supreme effort to retain control of the government which they had enjoyed so long. And the Democrats, encouraged by last year's State and Congressional elections, went into the contest with the determination to win.

Of the popular vote:

Tilden had.....	4,284,757
Hayes "	4,033,950
Cooper "	81,740
Smith "	9,522
Scattering	2,636
<hr/>	
A grand total of.....	8,402,605

Reference has been made to the advantages of electoral colleges in Presidential elections, but a defect in this

system became startlingly manifest this year. The possibility of a controversy over the genuineness and correctness of the returns from a State had not entered the minds of the framers of the Constitution, and hence no provision was made for settling such disputes. And the national law-makers had never seen an occasion in the experience of well-nigh a century which demanded a provision for determining a contested election for President. But the centennial year of American Independence witnessed such a contest, and one which caused the gravest apprehension for the stability of popular government.

There were contests as to the vote of one elector in Oregon, and to the votes of all of the electors in Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina. The Republicans carried Oregon beyond any controversy. But one of their electors, it was alleged, was a Federal officer, and hence not eligible to serve as a Presidential elector. The Governor of the State was a Democrat, and he certified to the election of two Republicans and one Democrat. The Secretary of State certified that the three Republicans were elected. The tremendous importance of that one vote will presently be seen. The issue was so momentous that many conservative Democrats insisted upon counting on their side this single vote, which a mere oversight had thrown in their power. There is scarcely a doubt that Mr. Tilden was willing, if not eager, to reach the Presidency by this technicality if no more certain and safe way was opened to him.

The real battle-ground was in the States of Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina. The political condition of Louisiana during several preceding years has been adverted to. The Returning Board invited suspicion of its honesty by refusing to place a Democrat on the Board, which the law declared should be done. Their action was further discredited by their refusal to canvass the votes in public session. They labored assiduously for

two or three weeks revising and altering returns, throwing out the entire vote of parishes in which they chose to decide there had been intimidation. The returns, as published immediately after the election, gave the Tilden electors about 18,000 majority, and elected McEnery Governor by a somewhat smaller majority. By the manipulations of the Returning Board, the Republican candidate for Governor was declared elected, as, also, the Hayes electors. In accordance with this decision, a certificate was sent on to Washington. McEnery, claiming to be the only lawful Governor, sent a certificate that the electoral votes of Louisiana had been cast for Tilden and Hendricks.

In Florida, the aggregate vote was much smaller, and the margin much less. It required more promptness, dexterity, and unscrupulousness to place these three electoral votes in the Hayes column. The Supreme Court of the State was Democratic, and it issued a decree that the Returning Board should not exercise judicial authority, but should declare the result as it appeared "upon the face of the returns." But the Board hurriedly met before the decree was announced, and, by throwing out a sufficient number of votes, were able to certify that the votes of the State had been cast for Hayes and Wheeler. A counter-certificate was sent by the Secretary of State. An investigation by a Congressional committee disclosed the most shameful frauds in two counties — Alachua and Leon — consisting of false registration, ballot-box stuffing, and forgery of returns, which more than made up the majority certified for Hayes. These matters may not have been known to the Returning Board. But from Baker County the returns certified in accordance with the laws of the State were before the Board. The vote of this county, thus legally certified, if honestly counted, would have settled the contest in the State in favor of the Democrats. But a duplicate

and false return was accepted by the Board, upon the strength of which they certified to the election of the Hayes electors.

In South Carolina there was a similar contention between the Democrats and the Returning Board. There had been some race-riots and bloody collisions between the whites and blacks. The military arm of the United States was thrown around the State, and the whites claimed to be under duress; that there had been no fair and free election. Two different certificates of the electoral vote of the State were sent to Washington.

In order to secure the election of Hayes, it was necessary to count in his favor all of the disputed votes, and then it would only be attained by the slender majority of one vote. Tilden required but the one vote from Oregon or the votes of one of the contested States in the south. The Democrats, relying on the substantial popular majority, and confidently believing that they had a majority of the electoral votes, fairly counted, were resolute in the determination that their candidate should be seated. Some enthusiasts were willing to resort to force, if necessary, and talked of gathering one hundred thousand men in Washington to insure the accomplishment of their purpose. In this critical emergency, Mr. Tilden was appealed to to announce his purpose of assuming the office of President. But he who had shown resolution, promptness, and courage upon other occasions was now timid and halting. In reply to the entreaties of his friends, he said that such a course "would cause a panic on Wall Street." Like a certain other rich man, on the coast of Judea, when the means for obtaining a much-desired prize were pointed out to him, "he was sad at that saying, and went away grieved, for he had great possessions."

General Grant was still President, and it was believed that he would use all the power of the government to

prevent Tilden's inauguration. A peaceful solution of the threatened danger had to be devised. It was determined to create a commission of five Senators, five representatives, and five Justices of the Supreme Court. The high character of the men selected, it was hoped, would insure a just decision of the mooted questions, and give quiet to the excited public. On the other hand, it was contended that the House of Representatives alone had the right to canvass the electoral votes, and that this authority could not be constitutionally delegated to any other tribunal. The House was Democratic, and the Senate was Republican. Hence, no joint rule for counting the votes could be agreed on. Mr. Tilden favored the project of an electoral commission, and his personal representatives in Washington secured a majority of the House in its favor. The result proved the strength of party ties with the most honored and exalted men. Upon every crucial question before the commission, the eight Republicans voted together, and the seven Democrats voted solidly the other way. The commission refused to go into the real merits of the controversy by investigating the charges of fraud upon the one hand and intimidation on the other. They confined their examination to "the face of the returns," and held the Republican certificates to be the more regular. Under this decision the votes were summed up: Hayes 185, Tilden 184.

The law creating the electoral commission provided that its decision upon any question should be conclusive unless disapproved by both Houses of Congress. In each case the Senate — being Republican — voted to sustain the judgment of the commission, while the House — being Democratic — as regularly voted to disapprove of each decision. The two Houses not concurring, the judgment of the commission in all cases stood. There was a vigorous but futile resistance in the House, which

led to stormy and disorderly efforts to prevent the final consummation and announcement of the result. But it was at last accomplished, as already stated.

When cooler judgment prevailed, and the intensity of party spirit abated, few persons denied that a great wrong had been committed, and that a man had been installed who had not been elected. Hayes's action, directly after his inauguration, was a virtual confession of the clouded title by which he held the Presidency. He withdrew the Federal troops from Louisiana and South Carolina, and recognized the legality of the Democratic State administrations, which had been chosen on the same day that Presidential electors had been voted for; and this although the governors of those States had received several thousand fewer votes than the Tilden electors had received. And in Florida, under a decision of the Supreme Court of the State, the Returning Board was finally compelled to certify the correct returns, and the Democratic candidates were duly installed.¹

Much space has been given to the contest of 1876, because it was one of the most eventful and interesting in the history of American politics.

In the centennial year—1876—Colorado was admitted into the Union.

The Hayes administration came into power with a Democratic majority against it in the House of Representatives. This majority was maintained throughout Hayes's term, and during its last two years the Democrats

¹ The electoral votes counted for Hayes were: California, 6; Colorado, 3; Florida, 4; Illinois, 21; Iowa, 11; Kansas, 5; Louisiana, 8; Maine, 7; Massachusetts, 13; Michigan, 11; Minnesota, 5; Nebraska, 3; Nevada, 3; New Hampshire, 5; Ohio, 22; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 29; Rhode Island, 4; South Carolina, 7; Vermont, 5; Wisconsin, 10—total, 185.

For Tilden were: Alabama, 10; Arkansas, 6; Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Georgia, 11; Indiana, 15; Kentucky, 12; Maryland, 8; Mississippi, 8; Missouri, 15; New Jersey, 9; New York, 35; North Carolina, 10; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 8; Virginia, 12; West Virginia, 5—total, 184.

controlled the Senate also. In the forty-fifth Congress the strength of the political parties was: Senate, 36 Democrats, 39 Republicans, 1 Independent; House, 156 Democrats, 137 Republicans.

In the forty-sixth Congress there were in the Senate 43 Democrats, 33 Republicans; House, 150 Democrats, 128 Republicans, 14 Nationals.

The Hayes administration was further weakened by the hostility of many Republicans to its Southern policy. These radicals had been accustomed to the use of troops at the Southern polling-places. Some of them honestly believed that the free exercise of the elective franchise by the negroes could only be secured by the presence of Federal soldiers. Upon his part, Hayes felt desirous of conciliating the Southern whites by removing the troops whose presence was so odious and irritating, and was claimed to be a constant menace and intimidation of the whites equal to that charged against the whites over the negroes. But this attempt to placate the South was counteracted by the appointment to office of many carpetbaggers and "scalawags" who had been notorious as members or agents of the Returning Boards.

Having effected a deliverance from troops at the polls, the Democrats bent all their energies to repeal the election law, which they denominated as the Force Bill, by virtue of which any number of United States marshals could be appointed to supervise the elections, with large powers to arrest voters and to discredit the returns. To secure this object they several times passed amendments containing repealing or nullifying clauses to appropriation bills. These were as often vetoed, and special sessions of Congress became necessary in order to provide means for carrying on the government.

By a provision of the Treaty of Washington (relative to the Alabama claims, etc.) the difficulties between the United States and Great Britain concerning the fisheries

along the northeastern coast were referred to a commission for settlement. During Hayes's administration (1877) this commission, sitting at Halifax, made an award in favor of Great Britain in the sum of \$5,500,000.

During this administration the currency question acquired increased prominence. Under the Act of 1873, the coinage of silver dollars had ceased, and there was a general demand that their coinage should be resumed, and their remonetization accomplished.

In May, 1877, the Legislature of Illinois sought to remedy the evils resulting from the Act of Congress of 1873 by declaring the subsidiary coins—half-dollars, quarters, and dimes—a full legal tender. But the bill was vetoed by the Governor.

In Pennsylvania, in the same year, the Republicans advocated the unlimited coinage and legal-tender quality of silver.

Both parties in Ohio demanded the remonetization of silver in 1877.

These are but illustrative of the general feeling on the subject. In response to this feeling, on November 5, 1877, Mr. Bland, of Missouri, introduced a bill directing the coinage of not less than \$2,000,000, and not more than \$4,000,000, of silver per month, and providing that this coinage should be a legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private. This bill was passed, vetoed, and passed over the veto by a large majority.

During a special session of Congress, which convened March 18, 1879, General Warner, of Ohio, secured the passage by the House of a bill providing for the unlimited coinage of silver. This bill was "pigeonholed" by the Finance Committee of the Senate. Although it was thus buried alive, the issue had vitality enough to burst its cerements, and come forth strong and imperative, to the great disquiet and confusion of both of the leading parties. The Greenback, or National party, in 1876 had

polled but little more than 81,000 votes. In 1878 its strength had swelled to more than 1,000,000. This party was not the avowed champion of the free coinage of silver, but it was in sympathy with that idea, being opposed to the national banking system, in favor of a larger volume of money, which money, they held, should be a legal tender, whether it was gold, silver, or government notes.

In 1879 specie payments were resumed, and gold and silver once more appeared as currency after an absence of nearly seventeen years.

The Democratic convention was held in Cincinnati, June 22-24, 1880. They renewed a declaration of their opposition to the spirit of centralism, to sumptuary laws, to any union of Church and State. They declared for home rule; for honest money,—the strict maintenance of the public faith,—consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand; a tariff for revenue only, etc. Still smarting from the sting of the electoral commission, they denounced "the great fraud of 1876-'77, to which the Democratic party, to preserve the country from civil war, submitted for a time in firm and patriotic faith that the people would punish this crime in 1880." The use of "troops and deputy marshals to intimidate and obstruct the electors, and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and despotic power, insult the people and imperil their institutions" was soundly denounced. They pronounced for free ships; against discrimination by common carriers; against Chinese immigration, and in favor of holding the public lands for actual settlers.

On the first ballot for nomination for President, General Hancock received 171; Thomas F. Bayard, 153½; H. B. Payne of Ohio, 81; Thurman, 68½; Justice Field, 65; W. R. Morrison, 62; Hendricks, 50½; Tilden, 38; Seymour, 8; and scattering, 31. Mr. Tilden had written a letter

declining to be a candidate, which having been made public, the New York votes were transferred to Mr. Randall of Pennsylvania, who was supposed to be Mr. Tilden's choice. The second ballot gave Hancock 320; Randall, 128½; Bayard, 113; Field, 65½; Thurman, 50; Hendricks, 31; Tilden, 6; scattering, 27. Before the result was announced, changes were made which gave Hancock 705; Hendricks, 30; Bayard, 2; Tilden, 1. For General Hancock's associate on the ticket, William H. English, of Indiana, was nominated by acclamation. One of the curious features of this convention was the candidacy of two from Ohio, Thurman and Payne; two from New York, Seymour and Tilden; two from Pennsylvania, Hancock and Randall.

The Republican convention of 1880 was in session for six days—June 2d–8th—in Chicago, and was full of incident and excitement. There were many contested seats, upon the settlement of which the complexion of the convention would be determined. An organized effort was being made to secure the nomination of General Grant. His friends formed a solid phalanx, which remained firm and unbroken to the last. There is nothing in the Constitution, nor in statutory law, inhibiting the election of a man to the Presidency for the third time. But tradition, the common law of parties, the example of Washington and the early presidents, had impressed many with the belief that it would be unwise and perhaps dangerous to give an indefinite perpetuity to the power of any man, however great and patriotic he might be. A strong opposition to Grant's nomination was developed, with quiet threats of a revolt if it should be accomplished. To give a quietus to this inclination, Roscoe Conkling, the recognized leader of the Grant forces, offered a resolution, early in the proceedings: "As the sense of this convention that every member of it is in honor bound to support its nominee, whoever that nominee may be, and that no

man shall hold a seat here who is not ready to so agree." Only three delegates had the manliness to vote against this resolution; about forty dodged.

The struggle over the contested seats was hot and prolonged. At one o'clock A.M. the convention by an overwhelming vote refused to adjourn, and for an hour and twenty minutes longer continued to debate and vote. There was a surprising uniformity in the votes on the different contests, which suggests that the merits of each case was not the controlling element in its decision. After a good deal of skirmishing over the rules, the platform was reported and adopted on the fourth day of the session. It extolled the achievements of the Republican party in crushing the rebellion; reconstructing the Union; liberating the slaves; improving the currency and credit of the nation; increasing railroads and foreign trade; paying a large sum for pensions; reducing the public debt and lowering the rate of interest; reviving industries; and increasing the rates of labor. It recognized the fundamental doctrine of the rights of the States and of the nation, but added, "the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the national, and not by the State tribunal." Popular education should be encouraged and aided; "and the destiny of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one State, but by the average genius of all."

If these clauses mean anything, States have no powers or rights which the Federal Government is bound to respect. The next clause, however, recognizes the right of States to regulate religious observances, but insists upon the amendment of the Constitution stripping them of this power.

It was resolved "that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor." Grants of public lands should cease; polygamy should be extirpated; harbors and the seacoast should

be improved; Chinese Immigration should be restricted. Hayes was commended. The Democracy was denounced for attempting to attach partisan legislation to appropriation bills. They affirmed that the regulation of the elective franchise could not with safety be delegated to the States.

A student of the Constitution and history of the Republic would find some difficulty in discovering what rights were reserved to the States and to the people if this platform is to be accepted as an authentic exponent.

On the fifth day of the session, the convention settled down to the work of selecting candidates, which is always popularly regarded as the most important of its functions. All other business is but a prelude to this crowning act. All prior movements are strategic with this great end constantly in view.

It has already been remarked that a powerful combination had been effected to further General Grant's nomination. The adherents of Mr. Blaine were not quite so numerous, but they had no less enthusiasm or fixity of purpose. Blaine was a man of brilliant parts, a wonderfully attractive personality. He was bold to the degree of audacity. He had a marvellous memory of persons, facts, and historical incidents. He was alert, aggressive, and ever ready in debate. He had been an admirable Speaker of the House of Representatives. His social qualities and public services, and his capacity for leadership had given him a large and zealous following.

The convention did not lack able and experienced men from whom to select a candidate. Senators Sherman and Edmunds were also presented.

On the first ballot, Grant had 304 votes; Blaine, 284; Sherman, 93; Edmunds, 34; with some scattering votes for Windom and Washburne. The balloting continued with unimportant variations all through the day and until ten o'clock at night. Then a resolution to adjourn was

carried, but the 304 Grant votes were recorded against it. On ten of the ballots James A. Garfield had received one vote, on eight of them he received two votes. These two were not constant in their support. Upon some of the ballots they strayed into other camps to compliment its chief and win the good will of his followers. They no doubt did a great deal of proselyting during the night after the convention had closed its session for the day. Next morning the 29th ballot was taken. Most of Senator Edmunds's votes were transferred to Senator Sherman, which, with other recruits, gave him 120 on the 30th ballot. On the 34th ballot there was a perceptible weakening in the Blaine column and strengthening of Garfield's small contingent. On the 36th ballot, Garfield received 399 votes; Blaine, 42; Grant, 306. The steadfast fidelity of General Grant's friends was a marked feature of this convention, and it was never paralleled before or since. In order to soothe the disappointment of Mr. Conkling, his personal friend,—Chester A. Arthur, of New York,—was nominated for Vice-President.

The Greenback convention was held in Chicago, June 11, 1880, and nominated for President James B. Weaver of Ohio, and for Vice-President, B. J. Chambers of Texas. Their platform is a treatise on political economy and the laws of finance. The policy heretofore pursued "has kept money scarce, and the scarcity of money enforces debt-trade; debt engenders usury, and usury ends in the bankruptcy of the borrower." Associated monopolies have been fostered; labor has not received its just share; the hours of toil have not been sufficiently reduced; there has been a rapid declension into corporate feudalism. There is no constitutional authority for permitting banks to issue paper money. The general government alone should issue gold, silver, and paper currency, and all money so issued should be a full legal tender for all debts, public or private. The bonds should

be paid according to contract, and for this purpose legal-tender notes should supplant National bank notes, and the unlimited coinage of silver, as well as gold, should be established by law. Chinese immigration should be prohibited; forfeited land grants should be immediately reclaimed; interstate commerce should be regulated by Congress. "All property should bear its just proportion of taxation, and we demand a graduated income tax." The regular army should not be increased, nor the militia system encouraged. Suffrage should not be restricted.

The Prohibition convention met in Cleveland, June 17th, and named Neal Dow, of Maine, its standard bearer. Most of the resolutions set forth in strong and varied expressions the terrible results of liquor drinking upon individuals, upon families, upon society, and upon the State. Liquor selling should be prohibited by Congress wherever its jurisdiction extends, and no new State should be admitted without a prohibitory clause in its constitution. They did not declare themselves upon any other issue. All their energies were centred upon this one reform.

The election was held on November 2, 1880, with the following result:

James A. Garfield.....	4,454,416
Winfield S. Hancock.....	4,444,952
James B. Weaver.....	308,378
Scattering	10,305

Garfield had less than 10,000 plurality over Hancock, and he was in the minority upon the total vote.

The electoral vote was¹:

Garfield.....	214
Hancock.....	155

¹ The electoral votes for Garfield were: California, 1; Colorado, 3; Connecticut, 6; Illinois, 21; Indiana, 15; Iowa, 11; Kansas, 5; Maine, 7; Massachusetts, 13; Michigan, 11; Minnesota, 5; Nebraska, 3; New

The complexion of Congress during this administration was as follows: Forty-seventh Congress—Senate: 37 Democrats, 37 Republicans, 1 American, 1 Readjuster; House: 130 Democrats, 152 Republicans, 9 Nationals, 2 Readjusters.

Forty-eighth Congress—Senate: 36 Democrats, 40 Republicans; House: 200 Democrats, 119 Republicans, 4 Independents, 2 Nationals.

For several years before the convention of 1880 there had been a bitter personal antagonism between Blaine and Conkling. Conkling's hostility to Blaine and his determination to prevent Blaine's nomination was, no doubt, a potent factor in holding his followers steadily for Grant. On the other hand, when Blaine saw that he could not secure the crown, he resolved to become the king-maker—a modern Warwick. His friends made the nomination of Garfield, and now, the election having been won, it was natural that Blaine's services should be recognized and rewarded. He was appointed Secretary of State by Mr. Garfield.

Garfield was very strong intellectually, but he lacked firmness of character and moral force. He was easily dominated by a man of Blaine's vigor and resolution. By this influence he was soon brought into collision with Conkling. The latter, as Senator from New York, claimed a voice in the selection of the Federal officers for his State. But to destroy his prestige and break down his power in his native State, he was ignored by the administration, and its patronage was thrown into the hands of a faction which opposed him. Conkling and his

Hampshire, 5; New York, 35; Ohio, 22; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 29; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 5; Missouri, 10—total, 314.

For Hancock were: Alabama, 10; Arkansas, 6; California, 5; Delaware, 3; Florida, 4; Georgia, 11; Kentucky, 12; Louisiana, 8; Maryland, 8; Mississippi, 8; Missouri, 15; Nevada, 3; New Jersey, 9; North Carolina, 10; South Carolina, 7; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 8; Virginia, 11; West Virginia, 5—total, 155.

colleague, Platt, resigned their seats in the United States Senate. This gave the control of that body to the Democrats.

The rule of holding a party responsible for all malfeasance in office during its *régime*, caused the Republican party to be still further smirched by the disclosure of tremendous frauds in connection with the contracts for carrying the mails in the West. These were known as the "Star route frauds." Criminal prosecutions were instituted against some of the active parties, and in a short time contracts involving \$2,000,000 were annulled.

On July 2, 1881, Garfield was shot in the Baltimore & Potomac Railroad Station in Washington. After a heroic struggle for life, he died on September 19th, and Chester A. Arthur became President. This assassination of the President by a disappointed office-seeker emphasized the demand for reform in the manner of filling the numerous public offices, which subject had enlisted attention for some years, and had secured the approval of most of the recent conventions. All realized the necessity of improvement in this regard. But there was strenuous opposition to the plan pursued, which, it was alleged, was false in theory and fraudulent in practice. To create a permanent office-holding class was regarded as repugnant to our free institutions. And, it was charged, the law was abused in the interest of favorites and partisans, who were being given a hold for life upon the public treasury. One Congress refused to pass an appropriation for the Civil Service Commission. But in time the people became reconciled to the new system; only insisting that it should be honestly administered.

President Arthur was not an intellectual giant, nor an experienced statesman, but he was a cultivated gentleman; and during his tenure of office there was an air of polish, refinement, and graceful courtesy about the White House to which it had not recently been familiar. There

was nothing of specially stirring interest during his administration. At first the Senate was controlled by the Democrats, and through the last two years of his term they had a large majority in the House.

In 1884, five national conventions were held. The first in the field was that of the Greenback party, which met in Indianapolis, May 28th, and nominated Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts for President, and A. M. West of Mississippi for Vice-President. General Butler had strong personality and great mental power. He was erratic in his political views, or at least in his political affiliations. He was very ambitious, and probably would rather "reign in hell than serve in heaven." He had been an extreme Democrat, in strong sympathy with the slaveholding element before the Civil War. He had not been a distinguished success as a military commander, but was noted for the originality and vigor of some of his administrative measures. Long before the Emancipation Proclamation was issued, he declared that slaves were contraband of war, and should be seized and liberated whenever it was possible. While commanding in New Orleans, he promulgated an order against ladies who might insult Union troops, which order was in its terms equally and extremely insulting and offensive. After the war he was elected as a Republican Governor of Massachusetts, and a representative in Congress. Then for a time he again united with the Democrats, and now he became the leader of the Greenback party.

The convention which nominated Butler demanded the issue of greenbacks "in sufficient quantities to supply the actual demands of trade and commerce, in accordance with the increase of population and the development of our industries," that they should be substituted for National bank notes; that money should not be hoarded in the Treasury, but applied to the payment of the public debts. "Land, railroad, money, and other gigantic

monopolies" were denounced. Lands forfeited by non-fulfilment of the contracts upon which they were granted, and those "wrongfully acquired by corrupt legislation" should be reclaimed and held for actual settlers. Alien ownership of land should be prohibited. Interstate commerce should be regulated by Congress; and "pooling and watering" of stocks prohibited. If necessary to correct these abuses, a national railroad should be constructed. A postal telegraph should be established and maintained by the government. All property, including bonds, should be taxed. A graduated income tax should be imposed; sanitary and educational regulations should be made and enforced for the benefit of laboring people. The importation of contract labor was denounced. The term of United States Senators should be reduced. The rules of the House of Representatives should be revised, curtailing the power of committees. Revenue should be raised from luxuries, and not from necessities; but, as an economic question its (the tariff's) importance is insignificant as compared with financial issues. To test the sense of the people on the subjects, a constitutional amendment should be submitted in favor of female suffrage; "and, also, on the subject of the liquor traffic."

The next convention in order of time was that of the Republican party. It was held in Chicago, June 3-6, 1884, and for the third time Mr. Blaine was a candidate for nomination. On the first ballot, Blaine had 334½; Arthur, 278; Edmunds, 93; Logan, 63½; Sherman, 30; Hawley, 13; Robt. T. Lincoln, 4; General Sherman, 2. On the next two ballots Blaine made some gains, and each of the other candidates lost. An effort was made to effect an adjournment with the view of turning the tide, which was drifting towards Blaine. But the motion to that effect was voted down, and on the 4th ballot Blaine had 541; Arthur, 207; Edmunds, 41; Hawley, 15; Logan, 7;

Lincoln, 2. John A. Logan was nominated for Vice-President by acclamation.

The platform was reported by Mr. McKinley, of Ohio, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. After a boast of what the Republican party had done in saving the Union and rendering "its institutions just, equal, and beneficent," it declares that "duties on foreign imports shall be made not for revenue only, but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer." "The party is pledged to correct the inequalities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus." The sheep industry must be protected; efforts should be made to secure international bimetallism; transportation should be regulated, and discrimination prohibited. A labor bureau is favored; the eight-hour law approved; imported contract labor should be prohibited; civil service reform should be sustained. Forfeited land grants should be annulled; alien ownership prohibited; the navy should be increased; offices in the Territories should be filled by *bona fide* residents; polygamy should be suppressed. "The national government is supreme within the sphere of its national duties, but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained." "A free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns" is demanded.

Many of these principles, in other words, were announced as part of the creed of one or more of the parties of the day. But they are given here, in order more readily to follow each party's action and thought from time to time.

On June 19, 1884, the American Prohibition convention was held in Chicago. Its platform, in the main, was an exact reproduction of that of the American National convention of 1880.

"Ours is a Christian nation; the Bible should be taught in educational institutions; the Sabbath should be observed; the manufacture, importation, and sale of intoxicants prohibited; secret societies suppressed; prison and imported contract labor abolished; patent laws revised; female suffrage permitted; international arbitration advocated, and monopolies discouraged; an ample and sound currency provided; tariff and taxes reduced; polygamy suppressed; and the President and Vice-President elected by the direct votes of the people."

Samuel C. Pomeroy of Kansas was made the nominee for President, and John A. Conant of Connecticut for Vice-President.

The Prohibition Home Protection party, which they resolved should thereafter be called the Prohibition party, held its convention in Pittsburg, July 23, 1884, and nominated for President John P. St. John of Kansas and for Vice-President William Daniel of Maryland.

The platform recites the enormous growth and consequent evils of the liquor traffic; denounces Republicans and Democrats alike for their *quasi* approval of this most demoralizing trade. Useless offices should be abolished; postmasters should be elected; revenues from liquor and tobacco should be repealed; tariff duties should be levied with the view of fostering American labor; the public lands held for homesteads; all money should be issued by the government and made a full legal tender. Liquor selling should be prohibited by Congress in the Territories and in the District of Columbia; the civil and political equality of the sexes should be recognized.

The session of the Democratic convention was held in Chicago, July 8-11, 1884. The platform is an elaborate document, setting forth in detail the abuse of power so long exercised by the Republicans, and the necessity of a change of administration to secure much-needed reforms. Fidelity to the fundamental principles of Democracy is reaffirmed, but new issues are recognized as the

necessary result of progress and growth. The Republicans are charged with defeating the will of the people by fraud in 1876, and by the corrupt use of money in 1880, with frauds and jobbery in every department of government; with squandering "hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist"; with a profligate waste of the public lands; with debasing labor, and overtaxing the people. It pledges the party to economy, purity, and general reform.

The clause with regard to the tariff is the more important because of the departure from the often repeated phraseology of "revenue only," or "only for revenue," and from the further fact that it was reported by Colonel Morrison, the able and courageous leader of "Revenue Reform." It says:

"But in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. Many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The necessary reduction and taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country."

Upon the currency, the platform says: "We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss."

Equal and exact justice is demanded for all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political. A free ballot and a fair count must be had; troops at the polls prohibited; Territorial offices filled with the citizens; sumptuary laws opposed; honest civil

service reform advocated; monopolies opposed; incorporation of labor associations favored; unearned lands reclaimed; homesteads for actual settlers; foreign labor and the servile races to be excluded; rights of citizens to be protected at home and abroad; the Mississippi River and other great waterways should be improved.

General B. F. Butler, who six weeks before had been nominated for President by the Greenback convention, was found again in the Democratic ranks. He presented a substitute for the platform reported by the committee; but his resolutions were voted down. As a part of the political history of the day, a synopsis of General Butler's platform is given. No taxation is right except to provide for the expenses of the government. All materials used in the arts and manufactures, and the necessities of life not produced in this country, should be admitted free of duty; luxuries should be highly taxed; duties should be so adjusted as to promote enterprises and foster American labor. Labor should be protected in every possible way, as by prohibiting the importation of pauper labor. Monopolies should be crushed out. The common schools should be aided by the general government. The public lands should be held in trust for the people. Transportation companies should be controlled by Congress. Frequent changes of officers are necessary, and life tenure condemned. Government alone should issue money. The greenback currency should be maintained.

The convention next proceeded to select its nominee. Grover Cleveland of New York had the prestige of a career of wonderful success. He had been elected Sheriff and Mayor of Buffalo, and then Governor of New York by an immense majority. He had unquestionable courage and unimpeachable honesty. He was without any experience in national affairs; he had never so much as visited the capital of the country, and was personally unacquainted with the leading statesmen. Added to

these disadvantages, he was vehemently opposed by the Tammany Society of his own State—a powerful political organization with which he was at variance. This society had fallen into disrepute by reason of its machine methods, "boss" rule, and accompanying corruption in New York City. In the convention, General Bragg of Wisconsin made capital for Cleveland out of Tammany's opposition, in the telling epigram, "We love him for the enemies he has made."

On the first ballot, Cleveland had 392 votes; Bayard, 170; Thurman, 88; Randall, 78; McDonald of Indiana, 56; Carlisle, 27; scattering, 9. On the second ballot, Cleveland received 683 votes; Bayard, 81½; Hendricks, 45½; scattering, 10. Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana was nominated for Vice-President by a unanimous vote.

The Women's Rights party, or Female Suffragists, were no longer content with securing a complimentary or approving resolution from the other parties. They resolved to hold a convention of their own. They baptized their organization as "The Equal Rights Party." Their convention was held in San Francisco, September 20, 1884. Belva A. Lockwood of the District of Columbia was nominated for President, and Marietta L. Stow of California for Vice-President.

The right to vote had hitherto been the modest demand of "the suppressed sex." Now they became bolder and higher in their aspirations. It did not occur to them that the masculine pronoun ran through the Constitution, or they may have regarded it as generic. At all events, they determined to show their purposes and the breadth of their views.

The platform pledged their energies to secure to women the right to vote and their rights of property. Foreign commerce would be promoted by them. They favored "a moderate tariff—sufficient to protect the laboring classes, but not so high as to keep our goods out of the

market " (?) The liquor traffic was denounced. The Indian tribal relations should be broken up, and the red men should be made citizens. The national debt should be paid gradually, but the circulating medium should not be curtailed. Monopolies should be opposed; education promoted; there should be uniformity of laws relating to marriage, divorce, the descent of property, and the limitation of contracts. Universal peace should be promoted. Offices should be fairly distributed between the North and the South.

"and such a distribution of the public funds for the increase of the facilities of inter-commercial relations as will restore the South to her former industrial prestige, develop the exhaustless resources of the West, foster the iron, coal, and woollen interests in the Middle States, and revive the manufactures of the East."

This adroit appeal to the different sections of the country was worthy of the most diplomatic politicians. If the Constitution should block the way of this great reform, that would be the fault of the Constitution, and not of the platform.

The convention also declared in favor of civil service reform, and of allotment of the public lands to actual settlers.

During this campaign, Mr. Blaine threw himself vigorously into the struggle. He traversed portions of the country, making a number of formal speeches, and many more from the rear platform of the car in which he travelled. He aroused universal enthusiasm, and it was hoped by his friends that his "magnetism" would prove irresistible. Sixteen years before this, Horatio Seynour, the Democratic candidate, a very effective speaker, had taken the rostrum in his own behalf. The experience of both of these distinguished men was alike unfortunate.

The most shameful feature of political campaigns had

been the villification of candidates. In 1884, the lowest depth of disgrace, in this regard, was sounded. Scandalous and indecent stories as to the past private life of the principal candidates were industriously circulated. The moral sense of the people was so shocked that had the calumnies been confined to one party the reaction would have been disastrous to the assailants. If partisan rancor could be influenced by the lessons of experience, such tactics would be avoided for prudential if no worthier motives.

The summing-up of the popular vote showed that

Cleveland had received.....	4,874,986
Blaine " "	4,851,981
Butler " "	175,370
St. John " "	150,369

The electoral votes stood ¹:

For Cleveland.....	219
" Blaine.....	182

The result in New York, with more than a million votes, was in Cleveland's favor by the small plurality of 1047. The fate of men and of parties often hangs upon a slender thread. Blaine, by reason of his family connection with the Roman Catholic Church, had brought to his support many of that faith who had always been Democrats. On the very eve of the election, a delegation of preachers waited upon him to pledge him their support. The spokesman of the delegation, anxious to

¹ The electoral votes for Cleveland were: Alabama, 10; Arkansas, 7; Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Florida, 4; Georgia, 12; Indiana, 15; Kentucky, 13; Louisiana, 9; Maryland, 8; Mississippi, 9; Missouri, 16; New Jersey, 9; New York, 36; North Carolina, 11; South Carolina, 9; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 13; Virginia, 12; West Virginia, 6; Wisconsin, 11—total, 219.

For Blaine were: California, 8; Colorado, 3; Illinois, 22; Iowa, 13; Kansas, 9; Maine, 6; Massachusetts, 14; Michigan, 7; Nebraska, 5; New Hampshire, 4; Nevada, 3; Ohio, 23; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 30; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 4—total, 182.

show the cause of their zeal in Blaine's behalf, extolled him as the champion of the forces arrayed against "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." This euphonistic alliteration was promptly seized by the Democrats and spread broadcast, and heralded as a gross insult to the Church of Rome, to which Mr. Blaine had complacently listened. It was believed by many, and not without reason, that many more than a thousand votes were thus turned from Blaine to Cleveland, securing the latter's election; for the electoral votes of New York determined the contest.

Mr. Cleveland came into office with a substantial Democratic majority in the House. During his term, Congress was composed as follows:

Forty-ninth Congress—Senate: 34 Democrats, 41 Republicans, 1 vacant; House: 182 Democrats, 140 Republicans, 2 Nationals, 1 vacant.

Fiftieth Congress—Senate: 37 Democrats, 39 Republicans; House: 170 Democrats, 151 Republicans.

He was at once confronted with grave problems of finance and revenue. Being of a calm and deliberate temperament, he was not led away by impulse, and being self-reliant and firm in character, he was not easily influenced by others. He was laborious and studious, and when he reached convictions he had courage and persistency in maintaining them. Prominent members of his party were apparently ignored, and evidently offended, in the matter of appointments and of public policy. From some he was estranged by their differences upon the currency. Near the close of his term, he sent a message to Congress specially devoted to the tariff, which was felt by some to be ill-timed and dictatorial. The unity of the party was disturbed, and the President was charged with wrecking it. It is no doubt true that he was governed more by his own conception of what was right and proper than by considerations of party

expediency. He seemed to make no great effort to harmonize the two influences. Withal, his administration was clean and pure.

The tariff — always an important issue — assumed the greater prominence by reason of the immense surplus which was being accumulated in the Treasury, and which justified, if it did not demand, a reduction in the duties on imports.

It had been found that the Tariff Act of 1883, which it was alleged would considerably reduce the duties, had but little effect in that direction; and agitation on the subject was renewed. The action of the House of Representatives in passing the Morrison Bill, and the President's vigorous advocacy of a reduction of the duties, made this the dominating question in the next campaign. Public opinion, as reflected in the platforms at different periods, varied in accordance with the temporary condition of business throughout the country. Each party, as has been shown, felt obliged to consider the tariff with reference to its effects upon the general prosperity, and hence its influence with the voters. It is true, the Republicans espoused the theory of protection, and the Democrats the theory of ultimately reaching free trade, but by such slow process as not to reduce the revenues below the necessities of the government; but in the practical application of these theories there was room for a wide divergence of views. It was believed by a majority of the people in several States that the measure which the Democrats were pressing was too radical, and threatened a serious disturbance of business interests. Although they felt they were carrying an unnecessary burden of taxation, they were more willing to bear that burden than to suffer greater evils by a too abrupt change in the measure of duties.

Amongst the most important measures of Cleveland's administration was the passage of an act providing the

method for determining contests in the election of Presidential electors; so that the disgraceful and dangerous experience of 1876 would be thereafter impossible.

Scarcely less important was the Presidential Succession Act, making provision for filling the office in case of the death of both President and Vice-President. It was enacted that the members of the Cabinet, in the order in which their offices were created, should, in case of a vacancy, become President. This almost certainly prevents the possibility of an interregnum, and secures to the party in power possession of the executive office during the full period for which it had been intrusted by the people at the last quadrennial election.

For several years there had been loud complaints against a system practised by railroad companies of discriminating in their charges and facilities in favor of certain localities and shippers. All parties had pronounced against the injustice of such favoritism. At length, in 1887, an act was passed creating an Inter-State Commerce Commission, and vesting it with authority to regulate and control transportation companies engaged in traffic passing from one State into another. Congress, having no power under the Constitution except as to commerce between the States and with foreign nations, could not take jurisdiction of transportation which was exclusively within the borders of any one State. But the act passed was a great relief to many business interests, and proved a benefit to the railroad and steamboat companies by prohibiting and terminating the wars of competing lines, which had so often been disastrous to their own interests, and a serious disturbance to general business.

President Cleveland laid a vigorous hand upon the vicious system of special pension legislation by vetoing a large number of such bills. For his wise and brave course in this regard, he was denounced by those whose personal expectations were thwarted, and by politicians who

hoped to array "the soldier vote" against the Democrats. Fairer-minded men, who had a full appreciation of the honest claims of those who had faithfully served the country and sacrificed their lives or health in its behalf, supported the President in his efforts to make the pension roll a roll of honor.

During this administration, in 1889, acts were passed enabling four Territories—North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington—to form State constitutions, preliminary to their admission to the Union.

The existing high tariff excluded some articles of foreign manufacture from competition in our markets, and enabled producers here to organize "trusts," or associations to control prices. Wealth was rapidly accumulated by the few, which spectacle caused the laboring classes to demand more consideration. Many "strikes" resulted. And, as always occurs in such cases, violent and lawless men stirred up riots, and brought reproach and disaster to the cause they pretended to advance. Anarchists, who had fled hither from Europe, seized the opportunity to disseminate their destructive doctrines and to indulge their mad opposition to law and order. These disturbances were suppressed, but they were used to influence political action.

Preliminary to the campaign of 1888, the Democratic convention was held in St. Louis, June 5th-7th. President Cleveland had no open opposition, and was renominated by acclamation. His associate on the ticket was Allen G. Thurman of Ohio, who, on account of his sterling virtues and experienced statesmanship, was dubbed "the old Roman."

The platform of 1884 was reaffirmed; the administration of Cleveland was cordially commended for its purity and fidelity, the prudence of its foreign policy, its elevation of the civil service, and its protection of the rights of all people. The all-engrossing issue being the tariff, it

was inevitable that a special declaration on the subject should be made. The first clause endorses the President's tariff message to Congress, and the efforts of the Democrats in the House "to secure a reduction of excessive taxation." This proved not to be specific enough to meet the views of all, and a resolution was offered by Mr. Scott of Pennsylvania—well known to be an intimate friend and earnest supporter of the President—"that this Convention hereby endorses and recommends the early passage of the bill for the reduction of the revenue now pending in the House of Representatives."

The platform, as reported by the committee and adopted by the convention, elaborated the evils of the existing unjust taxation, in oppressing the people and filling the Treasury with an enormous surplus, which led to extravagant and unconstitutional appropriations. Pledging itself to reform in this respect, it felt the necessity of allaying fears as to any radical change. It said:

"Our established domestic industries and enterprises should not and need not be endangered by the reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises by giving them assurance of an extended market and steady and continuous operations. In the interests of American labor, which should in no event be neglected, the revision of our tax laws contemplated by the Democratic party should promote the advantage of such labor by cheapening the cost of necessities of life in the home of every working-man, and at the same time securing him steady and remunerative employment."

This ingeniously worded resolution could be construed as favoring all the protection asked for by the advocates of that theory. But prior declarations of Democratic

conventions in favor of progressive free trade, coupled with the fact that this resolution was reported by Hon. Henry Watterson, a bold and outspoken champion of extreme revenue reform, caused this deliverance to be received with distrust.

The platform boasts that the Democrats have "reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and has reclaimed 100,000,000 acres, to be held as homesteads for our citizens."

It charges the Republican Senate with delaying confirmation of the treaty with China, which would prevent Chinese immigration.

The Republican convention sat in Chicago, June 19-25, 1888. The platform was again reported by Hon. Wm. McKinley of Ohio. It opens with a tribute to their dead leaders—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, and Conkling—congratulates Brazil upon her great act of emancipation, and expresses sympathy with Ireland's struggle for home rule. Then follows the usual declaration of devotion to the Constitution, the Union, and the reserved rights of the States; to free and honest elections; and charges the Democratic administration with having obtained power by suppression of the ballot, and by nullifying the Constitution and laws. It expresses continued opposition to the importation of labor under contract; to combinations and trusts; to railroad discriminations; and to Mormonism. It claims to share the credit of reclaiming some of the public lands, and dedicating them to homesteads. It favors home rule in the Territories, and their admission as States as soon as qualified; the Federal Government should aid the public schools; letter postage should be reduced to one cent; the merchant marine and navy should be built up; our fishery rights in the northeast should be defended; soldiers should be provided for; civil service reform should be advanced.

The foreign policy of President Cleveland is denounced for its "inefficiency and cowardice," and the Democrats in Congress are censured for withholding aid and encouragement to the Nicaraguan Canal project.

Upon the more pertinent issues, their declaration is given in full:

"The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver."

"We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. The protective system must be maintained. . . . We denounce the Mills Bill [then pending in Congress] as destructive to the general business, the labor and farming interests of the country. . . . We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry."

The convention was very much at sea when it entered upon the work of selecting its candidate. The names of Jos. R. Hawley, Walter Q. Gresham, Benj. Harrison, W. B. Allison, Russell A. Alger, Chauncey M. Depew, John Sherman, E. H. Fitler, and Jeremiah M. Rusk were formally presented to the convention. All received votes at first, as also several who had not been put in nomination. The first ballot resulted thus:

Alger.....	84	Allison	78
Depew.....	99	Fitler	24
Gresham.....	107	Harrison.....	85
Hawley.....	13	Ingalls.....	28
W. W. Phelps.....	25	Rusk.....	25
Sherman.....	229	Blaine.....	35
R. T. Lincoln.....	3	McKinley.....	2

The second and third ballots showed Sherman de-

cidedly in the lead, with Alger second, and then Gresham; the others retained about the same relative positions as before. A recess was taken. The next morning, on the fourth ballot, Harrison was advanced to second place. The fifth ballot produced no decided change. Some of the supporters of some of the weaker candidates abandoned them, but did not concentrate on any one. After balloting all day—Saturday—the convention adjourned until Monday. Upon the opening of the sixth day of the session, a cablegram from Mr. Blaine was read directing the withdrawal of his name; yet he was still voted for. The sixth ballot showed the contest narrowing to Sherman and Harrison. On the seventh, Harrison took the lead. Then Allison's name was withdrawn. His friends went to Harrison; almost one half of Sherman's forces deserted him, and went over to Harrison, and the eighth ballot showed Harrison 544, Sherman 118, Alger 100, Gresham 59, Blaine 5, McKinley 4.

This result left several wounds which time did not heal. Sherman, in his autobiography plainly charges that he was betrayed. Gresham felt that he was badly used by Harrison, and did not support him for election.

The ticket was completed by the nomination of Levi P. Morton of New York for Vice-President, upon the first ballot.

The Prohibition convention held its session in Indianapolis, May 31, 1888. Its platform, as usual, denounced the liquor traffic in all its aspects, pronounced against licenses and the internal revenue system, because by means thereof "the national government is deriving support from our greatest national vice." It declared in favor of tariff duties which should protect the manufacturer and the laborer; and should remove the burdens of taxation "from foods, clothing, and other comforts and necessities of life." It was for universal suffrage, but with an educational qualification; for civil service reform;

for uniform laws, regulating marriage and divorce; for the observance of the Sabbath; for arbitration of disputes between employers and employees; for prohibiting convict immigration; for lands for actual settlers; and for equal wages to men and women for the same work. It was against polygamy and monopolies.

Clinton B. Fisk of New Jersey was nominated for President, and John A. Brooks of Missouri for Vice-President.

Two labor conventions were held on the same day — May 16th — and both in Cincinnati. The Union Labor party nominated Andrew J. Streator of Illinois for President, and Charles E. Cunningham of Arkansas for Vice-President. It considered land monopoly as the chief cause of the prevailing distress, and favored the limitation of land ownership, the exemption of homesteads from taxation and execution. It advocated government ownership of transportation lines. It favored a sufficient quantity of legal tender money to be issued without the intervention of banks; the lending of money "to citizens upon land security at a low rate of interest"; the free coinage of silver; and opposed "the further issue of interest-bearing bonds, either by the national government, or by the States, territories, or municipalities." Contract labor should be prohibited in public works; the hours of labor should be reduced; there should be equal pay to both sexes; co-operative associations should be encouraged; education should be promoted; a service pension should be granted to every honorably discharged soldier and sailor; foreign contract labor and Chinese immigration should be excluded; women should be permitted to vote; United States Senators should be elected by the people; a graduated income tax should be collected.

The United Labor convention agreed with their brethren of the Union Labor party in believing the

fundamental evil of the times to be land monopoly. To break up this system, they would tax land according to its value, and not its area, so as to "make it unprofitable to hold land for speculation." "No one should be taxed on the wealth he produces, nor any one suffered to appropriate wealth he does not produce by taking to himself the increasing values which the growth of society adds to land." They also were in favor of all money being issued without the aid of banks; and it should be a legal tender. They also declared in favor of the government ownership of railroads and telegraph lines. They would simplify and cheapen court proceedings, and introduce the Australian system of voting.

They nominated Robert H. Cowdry of Illinois for President, and W. H. T. Wakefield of Kansas for Vice-President. But they do not appear to have put up an electoral ticket in any of the States.

The election was held November 6, 1888, and the returns showed :

Grover Cleveland had received	5,536,242
Benjamin Harrison " "	5,440,708
Andrew J. Streator " "	146,836
Clinton B. Fisk " "	246,876

Although Cleveland had received a plurality of the votes cast, he was defeated by the electoral vote, which stood :

Harrison	233
Cleveland	168

¹ The electoral votes for Harrison were: California, 8; Colorado, 3; Illinois, 22; Indiana, 15; Iowa, 13; Kansas, 9; Maine, 6; Massachusetts, 14; Michigan, 13; Minnesota, 7; Nebraska, 5; Nevada, 3; New Hampshire, 4; New York, 36; Ohio, 23; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 30; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 4; Wisconsin, 11—total, 233.

For Cleveland were: Alabama, 10; Arkansas, 7; Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Florida, 4; Georgia, 12; Kentucky, 13; Louisiana, 8; Mississippi, 9; Missouri, 16; New Jersey, 9; North Carolina, 11; South Carolina, 9; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 13; Virginia, 12; West Virginia, 6—total, 168.

The electoral vote of New York again decided the contests. In that State Harrison had not a majority of the votes, but he had a plurality over Cleveland of 14,373. During Harrison's term Congress stood:

Fifty-first Congress—Senate: 37 Democrats, 47 Republicans; House: 156 Democrats, 173 Republicans, 1 Independent.

Fifty-second Congress—Senate: 39 Democrats, 47 Republicans, 2 Alliance; House: 235 Democrats, 88 Republicans, 9 Alliance.

President Harrison brought to the discharge of his duties an unblemished character, a well-trained mind, great decision of character, and the ripe experience acquired by service in the Senate of the United States. It was said that he was cold in his temperament and chilling in his demeanor. But that is always said of a public officer by those who fail to rouse him to the same degree of warmth which they feel in their desire to secure office or impress their views.

The currency question continued to be troublesome, and Congress continued to tinker at it. The Bland-Allison Act of 1878 had not proved an effective panacea for the ills of the body politic; and a new nostrum was prepared. In 1890 a bill was passed which directed the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase each month 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion at the market prices, and to issue the same volume of Treasury notes, which should be a legal tender in all cases, except when it might be expressly stipulated to the contrary in the contract. The Treasury was thus made a great storehouse for silver bullion; and vast quantities were accumulated. Yet business depression continued, until it culminated in a panic in 1893.

The tide which carried Mr. Harrison to the White House in 1888 swept away the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives, and by the admission of

new States, the Republican party acquired an effective majority in the Senate.

Mr. McKinley — an acknowledged champion of protection — was made chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. He reported a tariff bill which met the approval of only the extreme theorists of his school of thought. Yet the bill became a law after receiving many modifications in the Senate. It proved to be so oppressive and obnoxious as to work a complete political revolution. The strength of the Republicans in the House when this bill was passed was 173; in the next Congress it was reduced to 88; while the Democratic minority of 156 was swelled to a majority, numbering 235. During the first Congress of Harrison's administration, when the Republicans controlled both branches of the legislature, an effort was made to re-enact the election law, called the Force Bill. A few Republican Senators united with the Democrats and prevented its passage. The President's influence was strongly in favor of the bill. The attitude of the Republicans on this question furnished the Democrats with an effective argument by which "the solid South" was held together under the fear of obnoxious legislation.

A group of six States was added to the national sisterhood during this administration, viz.: Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington, and Wyoming.

Near the close of Harrison's term, the Queen of the Hawaiian Islands was deposed, a provisional republic was formed, and its authorities and the administration of the country negotiated a treaty by which the islands were to be annexed to the United States. The President sent this treaty to the Senate, and recommended its ratification. Opposition to the measure prevented action; and the treaty remained pending in the Senate when Harrison retired from office. His administration had

been free from scandal, and the whole country testifies to his purity and ability.

In 1892, the Republicans renominated Harrison, and the Democrats again chose Cleveland as their standard-bearer. Each was acknowledged to have an unsullied record; to each were conceded eminent abilities and indomitable courage; each had ample experience. So that, being thus equally balanced, personalities were eliminated from the contest. Each represented a tariff system which had been repudiated by the people, if the result of the elections following the introduction of the Morrison and the McKinley Bills, respectively, had any meaning. It had been thus demonstrated that the public was more conservative than the leaders, and would not sanction a measure which was extreme on either side of the issue.

The Republican convention was held in Minneapolis, June 7-10, 1892. There was another sharp struggle over contested seats, in which the merits were subordinated to the views the contestants held as to who should be the nominee. The convention was pretty evenly divided between the supporters of Harrison and those of Blaine. A protracted debate, lasting until after midnight, was terminated by a vote which seated the Harrison delegates from Alabama. The platform was then adopted, and at about half-past one o'clock in the morning, the convention adjourned until eleven o'clock A.M.

The votes in opposition to Harrison were evenly divided between Blaine and McKinley, under an agreement, it was said, that they should combine upon the one giving the greatest assurance of success. But such an arrangement was futile, for Harrison was nominated on the first ballot; he receiving 535 $\frac{1}{2}$, Blaine 181 $\frac{1}{2}$, McKinley 182, Reed 4, Lincoln 1. Whitelaw Reid, of New York, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency.

The platform opens thus:

"We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We believe that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the last Republican Congress. We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home."

This moderate expression was in fair accord with the apparent temper of the people.

The platform further insisted that "the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the Tariff Act of 1890." "The Republican policy of reciprocity" is extolled; and the Democrats denounced for attempting "to destroy our tariff laws by piecemeal."

The resolution upon the currency "demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money," with such restrictions as will secure "the parity of values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal." They favor an international conference to insure the "parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world."

The rest of the platform contains the usual declaration in favor of a "free ballot and a fair count"; denounces outrages in the South and, condemns "trusts." It approves of the Monroe doctrine; favors the merchant marine; the protection of fisheries; civil service reform; the Nicaragua Canal to be controlled by the United States; the speedy admission of the Territories; local offices to be filled by citizens; the cession of the arid lands to the States and Territories in which they lie; aid to the Columbian Exposition; protection of employees of transportation companies; favors extension of the free-delivery system of the Post-Office Department, and the

reduction of postage. It expresses sympathy with the cause of home rule in Ireland, with the Jews persecuted in Russia, and with the cause of temperance.

The Democratic convention was held June 21-23, 1892, in Chicago. The result of its deliberations was remarkable in more than one way. Mr. Cleveland's re-nomination was opposed by nearly all the leading men of his party. The entire delegation from his own State was against him. And yet he was nominated on the first ballot. In his former administration he had not sought advice, and, if tendered, generally ignored it.

Men whose position and character were wont to command respect and make their influence regarded thought themselves and their wishes and views treated with discourtesy, and charged that, as President, Mr. Cleveland had been indifferent to the principles and policies of his party, and was responsible for its defeat in 1888. But the Democratic masses love a brave, determined man of iron will. They had been taught to idolize "Old Hickory," and they believed Cleveland to be a worthy successor. They did not care to study nice distinctions, and to discriminate between firmness and obstinacy. Mistakes may be pardoned, although resolutely adhered to, if conscientiously made. Here was a man of unquestioned courage with no stain upon his official character, and his renomination was demanded by the rank and file of the Democracy.

The two-thirds rule being the law of Democratic National conventions, 607 votes were necessary to make a nomination. Cleveland received 617½, Hill 115, Boies 103, Gorman 36½, Carlisle 14, Stevenson 16½, Morrison 3, Campbell 2, Pattison, Russell, and Whitney 1 each.

On the first ballot for the Vice-Presidency, Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois had 402 votes; Isaac P. Gray of Indiana 343; Allen B. Morse of Michigan 86; John L. Mitchell of Wisconsin 45; Henry Watterson 26. Before

the announcement of the result various changes were made which gave Mr. Stevenson the requisite two thirds; whereupon his nomination was made unanimous.

Although the currency and the tariff were the dominating issues, the convention pronounced judgment upon all other subjects of interest. The platform declares continued allegiance to the principles formulated by Jefferson and exemplified by his Democratic successors in office; condemns the centralization of power which the Republicans were seeking to establish; the Force Bill, designed to secure Federal control of elections, and to deprive the States of their constitutional rights. It denounces trusts and combinations; the squandering of public lands, which should be held for homesteads, and of which the Democrats had reclaimed 100,000,000 acres from corporations and syndicates. It favors the repeal of the tax of ten per cent. on the issue of State banks; the enforcement of honest civil service reform; liberal pensions; improvement of the great waterways; the Nicaragua Canal and its protection against foreign control; the World's Fair; education, without interference with parental rights and the rights of conscience; the admission of Arizona and New Mexico at once, and of the other Territories having the necessary population and resources; home rule in the Territories; protection of railway employees. It opposes all sumptuary laws; the "sweating" system; the immigration of criminals and paupers. It expresses sympathy with the oppressed everywhere, especially with the persecuted Jews and Lutherans in Russia; and with Ireland's struggle for home rule. It denounces Republican ideas of reciprocity as a sham. It boasts that the Democratic party only has ever given the country a foreign policy consistent and vigorous; and favors the maintenance of a navy strong enough to protect our rights and command respect.

It denounces the Sherman Act as "a cowardly makeshift."

"We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal, or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets, and in payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin."

Mr. Patterson, of Colorado, representing a minority of the committee on resolutions, moved to insert the word "free" before the word "coinage." But his proposition was voted down.

The platform, as reported, denounced the McKinley Tariff Bill in no mild or measured terms, as the cause of dulness and distress in business; of wage reductions and "strikes," and promised its prompt repeal in case of Democratic success in the coming elections.

But this resolution was not radical enough to suit the advanced views of most of the delegates. Mr. Neal of Ohio moved to strike out the resolution as reported, and insert:

"We denounce Republican protection as a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for the purposes of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the government when honestly and economically administered."

This resolution was supported, amongst others, by

Henry W. Watterson, who had reported the resolutions in 1888, to which reference has already been made. After considerable discussion, Messrs. Vilas, Whitney, and Jones announced the willingness of the Committee on Resolutions to accept Mr. Neal's proposition as an additional plank in the platform. But this tub to the whale was not enough to satisfy its rapacity. It insisted on swallowing and destroying the entire tariff plank furnished by the committee, and leaving only the Neal plank upon which the party might float or sink. A call of the States showed the Neal substitute was approved by a vote of 564 to 342.

The first resolution in the platform was not changed, although it reaffirmed allegiance to the principles of Jefferson, Madison, and others who had never discovered that protection was unconstitutional. Earlier conventions of the party had protested against the protection of one interest to the detriment of others; in favor of "incidental protection to domestic manufactures." In 1884 and 1888, while revision of the tariff was urged, it was to be done "so as not to injure any domestic industry," and "with the allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor." The new revelation of 1892 was, by many Democrats, not believed to be inspired. But their party fealty was not to be shaken by the announcement of a new article of faith.

The Prohibition convention which met in Cincinnati, June 18, 1892, renewed its protest against the liquor traffic and the government's share in its "ill-gotten gains"; against alien ownership of lands; against Sabbath desecration; against mob law; against trusts, combinations, and speculation by margins. They declared in favor of equal suffrage and equal wages without regard to sex; in favor of government control of public corporations; of stricter immigration laws, and requiring a year's residence after naturalization before the right of

suffrage could be exercised; in favor of pensions to disabled soldiers and sailors; in favor of non-sectarian public schools, in which the English language should be taught; in favor of arbitration for the settlement of national differences; in favor of liberal appropriations for the World's Fair, but only on condition the exposition should be closed on Sunday, and the sale of liquor prohibited on the fair grounds. They were in favor of an increase of the currency, to be regulated by the population of the country, to be gold, silver, and paper, issued by the general government, and made a legal tender for all debts. They took a new departure on the tariff question; declaring that duties should be imposed

"only as a defence against foreign governments which levy a tariff upon or bar out our products from their markets, revenue being incidental. The residue of means necessary to an economical administration of the government should be raised by levying a burden on what the people possess instead of what we consume."

They nominated John C. Bidwell of California, for President, and J. B. Cranfill of Texas, for Vice-President.

On May 20, 1891, there assembled in Cincinnati a large gathering of farmers, wage-earners, men with hard-riden hobbies, discontented men, and some were ready to be conspicuous. They proposed "the crystallization of the political reform forces of our country, and the formation of what should be known as the People's party of the United States of America."

They heartily endorsed

"the platforms as adopted at St. Louis, Mo., in 1889; Ocala, Fla., in 1890; and Omaha, Neb., in 1891, by industrial organizations there represented—viz.: The abolition of national banks; legal tender Treasury notes to be issued; such notes when demanded by the people shall be loaned to them at not

more than two per cent. interest per annum upon non-perishable products; and also upon real estate with proper limitation upon the quantity of land and amount of money."

They demanded free and unlimited coinage of silver; the prohibition of alien ownership of lands, and to reclaim, if possible, land already acquired by aliens, and all lands held by corporations in excess of that actually used and needed; a graduated income tax; "national control of all means of public communication and transportation, and, if abuses cannot be corrected, government to own such means of communication and transportation"; the election of President and Vice-President and United States Senators by a direct vote of the people. They resolved to hold a conference with six of the leading reform organizations on February 22, 1892, to which convention they appointed delegates, and instructed them to call a convention, not later than June 1, 1892, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President, in case the joint conference of February 22d could effect no satisfactory arrangement.

They also demanded the issue of enough legal-tender notes to pay the pensions; eight hours to be a full day's work.

This party was probably the offspring of a secret organization which was formed in 1867, and known as the "Patrons of Husbandry," or "Grangers," their lodges being called Granges. In its inception it was not political; but the reforms which it sought to effect could only be secured by political or party action, and after several years of fruitless effort to obtain a redress of the grievances of the farmers, they were ready to join in forming a party to further their interests.

A new organization, or an old organization with a new name, came forward to ask popular endorsement of its views. It was, to a great extent, a combination of the

Greenback and Labor parties, and called itself the National People's party, with very pronounced views upon many questions. Its convention was held in Omaha on July 2d, near enough to our great national anniversary to inspire patriotic emotions and provoke patriotic utterances. Yet they indulged in a melancholy view of the condition of things generally, and a savage tirade against policies by which the nation has been "brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench." Bribery, intimidation, a subsidized press, imported pauper labor, a hireling army, etc., "breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires." With many additional preambles, they proceed to declare a union of the labor forces; and to

"demand a national currency safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the general government only, and made a full legal tender—a just, equitable, and efficient means of distribution direct to the people at a tax not to exceed two per cent. per annum. . . . We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one; the circulating medium to be not less than \$50 per capita."

"We demand a graduated income tax"; the establishment of postal savings banks; all transportation facilities, as well as telegraph and telephone systems, to be owned and operated by the government. All lands owned by corporations in excess of their actual needs, and by aliens, should be reclaimed and held for actual settlers only. They advocate the Australian system of voting; and commend "the legislative system known as the initiative and referendum." Senators should be elected by the people, and the term of service for President and Vice-President should be restricted to four years. The eight-hour law should be rigidly enforced. The Pinkerton

police is denounced "as a menace to our liberties, and we demand its abolition."

To carry out these numerous and great reforms, they nominated James B. Weaver of Iowa, who had been the Greenback candidate in 1880, for President, and James G. Field of Virginia for Vice-President.

The election took place November 8, 1892.

Cleveland received.....	5,556,568
Harrison "	5,162,874
Bidwell "	264,066
Weaver "	1,055,424

Cleveland's vote was 20,320 more than he had received in 1888, and Harrison's was 277,834 less than when he was elected.

The electoral vote stood ¹:

Cleveland.....	277
Harrison.....	145
Weaver.....	22

Congress was divided thus:

Fifty-third Congress—Senate: 44 Democrats, 37 Republicans, 4 Independents, 3 vacancies; House: 218 Democrats, 127 Republicans, 11 Populists.

Fifty-fourth Congress—Senate: 39 Democrats, 43 Re-

¹ The electoral votes for Cleveland were: Alabama, 11; Arkansas, 8; California, 8; Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Florida, 4; Georgia, 13; Illinois, 24; Indiana, 15; Kentucky, 13; Louisiana, 8; Maryland, 8; Michigan, 5; Mississippi, 9; Missouri, 17; New Jersey, 10; New York, 36; North Carolina, 11; North Dakota, 1; Ohio, 1; South Carolina, 9; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 15; Virginia, 12; West Virginia, 6; Wisconsin, 13—total, 277.

For Harrison were: California, 1; Iowa, 13; Maine, 6; Massachusetts, 15; Michigan, 9; Minnesota, 9; Montana, 3; Nebraska, 8; New Hampshire, 4; North Dakota, 1; Ohio, 22; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 32; Rhode Island, 4; South Dakota, 4; Vermont, 4; Washington, 4; Wyoming, 3—total, 145.

The States voting for Weaver were: Colorado, 4; Idaho, 3; Kansas, 10; Nevada, 3; North Dakota, 1; Oregon, 1—total, 22.

publicans, 6 Silver; House: 104 Democrats, 248 Republicans, 7 Populists.

It will be observed that at this election, for the first time since 1860, electoral votes were cast for a candidate not representing either the Democratic or Republican party. The dissatisfaction with the old parties, their theories and practices, was evidenced by the increased vote cast for other candidates.

In 1889 it became President Cleveland's duty to escort his successful rival to the Capitol for inauguration. Now, in 1893, their positions were reversed, President Harrison in turn became the escort to Mr. Cleveland on his second inauguration. This was an unprecedented experience in the history of the Republic. Both gentlemen performed the ceremony with becoming grace and courtesy.

With Cleveland's inauguration there was a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives, as well as in the Senate. Very soon thereafter a monetary panic induced the President to call Congress together in special session. The repeal of the Sherman law was urgently recommended. After a protracted debate the repealing act was passed November 1, 1893. The relief which this was expected to give to the Treasury and to the business interests was but partial and temporary. Whether or not the hoped-for benefits were nullified by the tariff legislation which followed is a question upon which theorists differ. It is certain that hard times continued and the Treasury continued to be embarrassed.

A new tariff bill was earnestly pressed, and finally passed. Its advocates stoutly insisted that it would furnish ample revenue for the needs of the government. By one of its provisions a tax was to be levied upon incomes. The collection of this tax was resisted upon the ground that it was unconstitutional. A test case was brought before the Supreme Court of the United States. At its argument one of the justices was absent on account

of sickness. The eight on the bench were evenly divided in their judgment. This would have resulted in holding the law to be valid. But a reargument was ordered before the full bench. The justice who had been absent at the first hearing deemed the law to be constitutional; but one of the other justices, who at the first consultation had voted to sustain the law, changed his views upon hearing the additional arguments; and the vote stood five to four against the constitutionality of the tax. A great deal of angry and unseemly feeling was exhibited by some of the dissenting justices, which found quick sympathy in the breasts of those who had for a long time advocated this system of raising a portion of the revenues. The expenditures of the government continued to exceed its receipts; partly, no doubt, because the Treasury was deprived of the expected aid from the income tax. The Republicans alleged that a great cause of the deficit was the low rate of tariff duties; and that even with the income tax there would have been a shortage under the Wilson-Gorman tariff law.

The administration, having determined to maintain the gold standard, and seeing the Treasury supply of gold dwindle away, resorted to the only available means of sustaining its policy, and sold United States bonds for gold. This increasing of the national debt, and, necessarily, of the interest burden, in a time of profound peace, aroused excited and indignant opposition. Depression in business grew more and more irksome. Hard times grew more and more grinding. The discontent of the people became more widespread and more pronounced. They became clamorous for relief, and were ready, even eager, to try any expedient which promised better times. General distress is not apt to be logical. Nothing can be worse, any change must be an improvement, was a conclusive argument, whose force was soon to be felt by political organizations.

Soon after Mr. Cleveland's inauguration, he recalled from the Senate the treaty for the annexation of the Sandwich Islands, which had been negotiated by President Harrison. Not content with that, he attempted to restore Queen Liliuokalani to her throne. Believing that her deposition had been effected by the improper and unlawful interference of the United States civil and naval officers, he claimed that justice demanded a like intervention to restore the *status in quo*. This aroused a fierce opposition of those who denied his premises, of those who desired the annexation, and of those who considered it antagonistic to the spirit of republicanism, under any circumstances, to aid in upbuilding or upholding a monarchy, and especially in the case of a disreputable and bloody-minded sovereign. The negotiations with the dethroned queen showed her cruel and malicious nature in a light so revolting that further efforts in her behalf were abandoned. The republican government on the islands had been maintained, and the desire on its part for annexation continued to be very earnest.

Another episode in this administration was the bold and broad announcement that the United States proposed to enforce the Monroe Doctrine to its fullest extent. Theoretically this principle had been accepted by our people for three quarters of a century. Conventions of all parties had approved it. But, except in the case of Maximilian in Mexico, its practical application had not been invoked. Now, it was claimed that Great Britain was encroaching upon Venezuela, extending the area of monarchical power over a portion of the domain of one of our sister republics. The spirit of chivalry in behalf of the weaker contestant, as well as the love for free institutions, was powerfully awakened. The President's message on the subject struck a popular chord, and met with a prompt and universal sympathetic response, notwithstanding the fact that some of the more conservative

insisted that the Monroe Doctrine had no application to the exciting contention. Alarm was sounded; fears of a war with England spread; a financial panic ensued, caused by the eagerness to sell American securities held abroad. This monetary disturbance aggravated the already depressed condition of business, and stimulated the anxious desire for relief, come from what source and in what form it might. Calmer and wiser counsels have prevented an international conflict of arms. The two great powers interested in the controversy are still engaged in a sincere and earnest effort to effect an amicable, or at least a peaceful, adjustment of the question. It is hoped and believed that the two greatest Christian nations of the world will set all others the example of settling disputes by arbitration, rather than by a competitive slaughter of their sons.

Cuba, for many years restless under the Spanish yoke, had again revolted. A provisional government was established by the revolutionists; armies were raised; and many bloody collisions had ensued. Many natives of the island who had been residing in this country sympathized very warmly with their struggling countrymen, and sought to give them material aid. There were also many of our own citizens, some from sympathy and some from the spirit of adventure, who were eager to contribute to Cuban independence by personal service and by furnishing munitions of war. The barbarous cruelties of Spanish warfare shocked the humane sentiment of our people, and there was an earnest and emphatic demand that our government should recognize the revolutionists as having the rights of belligerents. President Cleveland felt called upon to enforce the neutrality laws of our country, and was loath to give offence to Spain, with whom our nation was on friendly terms. This reluctance embittered some of the more zealous sympathizers with the cause of Cuba.

One other matter during the Cleveland *régime* deserves notice on account of its political effect. A "strike" of railroad employees in Chicago culminated in multitudinous and deadly riots. The local authorities were unable, or unwilling, to quell the alarming lawlessness. Attorney-General Olney devised an ingenious scheme by which the United States Government could intervene. The Federal Court issued an injunction to restrain the "strikers" from obstructing trains carrying the mail. Thus the entire strength of the general government was enlisted to enforce the decree of its court. The riot was suppressed, and some of its promoters were convicted of contempt of court, and sent to prison. The labor associations were greatly incensed at this unusual exercise of power. They felt helpless in the unequal contest with the Federal forces; but there seemed to be all the greater necessity that they should unite more closely and manifest their strength at the polls.

One phase of the old "Know-Nothing" spirit was revived in 1893. The American Protective Association, a secret organization, was formed with the avowed purpose of making its strength felt in the elections. Its policy was not to announce candidates of its own, but to support those of either party who were in accord with its views. The Roman Catholic Church was the object of attack. The Junior Order of American Mechanics and the Patriotic Sons of America were claimed as sympathizers and co-operators. In 1894-95, the candidates they supported were elected to several county and municipal offices. One or more governors of States were claimed as of their making, and several members of Congress openly avowed their affinity. They opposed and defeated appropriation bills whose benefits might by any possibility be shared by religious, educational, or charitable institutions which were under the auspices of the Church of Rome. In 1896, they claimed to have a combined membership of 4,000,000.

With party ties broken or weakened in many States, and with elements of discord on several questions disturbing their ranks, the old political organizations prepared for the campaign of 1896.

The Republican convention commenced its session on June 18th, in St. Louis. The action of State conventions had made it perfectly apparent that Mr. McKinley would be nominated. The platform, therefore, became the object of greatest interest. Several States—California, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and Montana—had declared unreservedly and unqualifiedly for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. Others were for international bimetallism. Others still pronounced unequivocally for the gold standard. Ohio, Mr. McKinley's own State, had "straddled," having taken the Republican national platform of 1892, and interpolated the words, "either in accordance with a ratio to be fixed by an international agreement, if that can be obtained, or under [the rest being copied from the platform of 1892] such restrictions and such provisions to be determined by legislation as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals," etc. This was believed to express Mr. McKinley's position. His friends were naturally anxious to make the platform harmonize with the views of the prospective nominee. They also thought that such a modified expression might placate the strenuous advocates for silver. On the other hand, the supporters of the other candidates for the Presidency insisted upon a bold declaration, without any ambiguity, against the free coinage of silver unless under an international agreement. The sincerity of their opinions need not be questioned. At the same time, it was quite evident that they would be glad to embarrass the man whose nomination they could not defeat. The silver advocates, caring more for the cause than for the candidate, urged and implored for a more decided declaration in their behalf.

The North and the East formed a compact and resolute mass against any concession to the far West. Compromise was impossible. After a long and eager struggle, those who would have dallied with the question yielded; the gold-standard platform was adopted. Whereupon some twenty-five of the delegates, headed by Senator Teller, who had made an able, earnest, pathetic, but futile appeal against the action, withdrew from the convention.

The platform is not only a declaration of principles, but an argument in their support, and a philippic against the Cleveland administration. "It has a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster. It has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise, and crippled American production." Having charged up to the Democratic party this accumulation of evils, the platform proceeds: "We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity"; there follows a schedule of its beneficial effects. From this high sounding of their manifesto, they descend to more moderate expression.

"We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the Government, but will protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedule. . . . Protection and reciprocity go hand in hand—reciprocity agreements of mutual interests which gain open markets for us, in return for our open markets to others."

Special protection is favored for sugar-growing, wool-growing, and manufacturing. "We favor discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine."

Upon the currency question it says:

"We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained, the existing gold standard must be preserved."

There are the usual resolutions in favor of pensions; civil service reform; a free ballot and fair count; international arbitration; home rule in the Territories; homesteads; temperance; equal pay for equal work to women; enforcement of the immigration laws; enlargement of the navy, harbor, and seacoast defences.

An extended foreign policy is outlined.

"The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them; the Nicaraguan Canal should be built, owned, and operated by the United States; and by the purchase of the Danish Islands we should secure a proper and much-needed Naval Station in the West Indies."

"We reassert the Monroe Doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeal of any American State for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment."

The massacres in Armenia are denounced; and protection to Americans and their property imperatively demanded. Profound sympathy is expressed with the Cubans in their heroic battle against cruelty and oppression, and "we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island."

As has been already intimated, William McKinley of Ohio was nominated for President. He repeated the

experience of Mr. Cleveland, in 1892, by attaining the coveted honor without the aid, in defiance of the efforts to defeat him, of nearly all of the active leaders and skilled managers of his party. To compass their object, these practical politicians had brought out a number of candidates, who, as "favorite sons" of their respective States, were expected to secure and hold their delegates until a satisfactory combination could be effected. But the plan miscarried. McKinley's personal friends had been incessantly at work throughout the country, and by systematic labor had secured complete control of the convention.

For many years Mr. McKinley was a prominent representative in Congress. He had but recently closed a term of service as governor of his native State. His public career was well known, and was without a flaw. In every relation in life he was respected and honored. Being socially an attractive man, being an able debater, an experienced legislator, and a great high-priest of protection (who had laid upon its altar many offerings of devotion, the chief of which was the bill which bears his name, whose duties were so extremely protective that the convention dominated by his warm supporters did not venture to promise its re-enactment), he had well earned the high honor his party conferred upon him.

Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey was selected as the candidate for Vice-President.

The elections of 1894 had given the Republicans an overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives. Defeat and dissension in their ranks, especially in the south, where lay their greatest strength, had to a great extent demoralized the Democratic party. The prospect of success was so faint that none of the most prominent men desired the nomination. Apathy existed throughout the north, while in the south and west the free-silver forces worked energetically to advance their theory, and

secure delegates to the national convention. They were so successful that when that body met they had complete and absolute control. An eleventh-hour effort was made to stem the rushing tide, but it swept away and submerged all obstructing opposition. Even the two-thirds rule—that inexorable law and conservative force of the party—was in danger of shipwreck; but the determination of a number of contested seats took away the necessity for its sacrifice.

The convention met in Chicago, July 11, 1896; and although all other issues were dwarfed by the money question, the old-time doctrines were incorporated into the party creed. As usual, they declared for "freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, the preservation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law, and the faithful observance of constitutional limitations." State rights and local self-government were proclaimed as articles of faith. The profligate waste of money by the Republican Congress was denounced; as, also, "trusts and pools," and "the importation of foreign pauper labor." Opposition to life-tenure of office, to a third term of the Presidency, were proclaimed as the unwritten law of the Republic. The prompt admission of New Mexico and Arizona, and the admission of the other Territories as soon as they should acquire population and resources sufficient to support statehood, was demanded. The policy and practice of the Pension Bureau were commended. Sympathy was expressed for struggling Cuba. The improvement of the Mississippi and other great waterways was favored. The Pacific Railroad Funding Bill was denounced.

"We denounce arbitrary interference by Federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United States, and a crime against free institutions, and we especially object to government by injunction as a new and highly

dangerous form of oppression, by which Federal Judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges, and executioners."

This vigorous protest was elicited by the action taken during the Chicago riots, to which reference has been made. It was an alluring bait to draw the labor fish into the Democratic net. The efficiency of the injunction process had been demonstrated, but its legality had been doubted by good lawyers, and had been utterly repudiated by labor organizations.

Waning reverence for the judiciary was further manifested by the resolution relative to the income tax, which charges the Supreme Court with having reversed "the uniform decisions of that court for nearly one hundred years." It does not propose to resist or nullify the decision, but insists

"that it is the duty of Congress to use all the Constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come from its reversal by the Court, as it may hereafter be constituted; so that the burdens of taxation may be equally and impartially laid, to the end that wealth may bear its due proportion of the expenses of the government."

This declaration of the Democratic convention has been greatly and severely criticised. But there is high authority — Democratic and Republican — for refusing passive assent to judgments of the Supreme Court upon political or economic questions. Thomas Jefferson repeatedly declared his distrust of the Supreme Court. Andrew Jackson refused to accept as conclusive its judgment as to the constitutionality of the National Bank. And Charles Sumner fiercely assailed one of its decisions, and presented a formidable array of "crimes perpetrated under the sanction" of judicial tribunals. The great mass of our people have a deeply grounded respect for

law, and promptly accept as authoritative the interpretation given by the tribunal of last resort. But a faithful observance of such judgments has never precluded the desire and the effort to effect a reversal thereof by the court itself, or by remedial legislation. Applications for reargument are not uncommon, and rearguments have at times produced a change in the judgment of the court. This had been the result in the very case which called forth the resolution of the Democratic convention. And the same effect was witnessed in the notable case involving the constitutionality of the legal-tender notes. It is therefore unjust to stigmatize as revolutionary the resolution referred to, no matter what may be thought of its wisdom or propriety.

Upon the tariff question, the Democratic convention came back to its old moorings. The result of the late elections may have modified their views as to the constitutional power of Congress in this regard. They said: "We hold that the tariff duties should be levied for purposes of revenue; such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country, and not to discriminate between class or section, and that such taxation should be limited by the needs of the government honestly and economically administered." The McKinley Tariff Bill is denounced as one that, enacted "under the false plea of protection to home industry, proved a prolific breeder of trusts and monopolies, enriched the few at the expense of the many, restricted trade, and deprived the producers of American staples of access to their natural markets."

As the money question was manifestly the supreme issue of the day, the convention elaborated its views thereon.

"The Federal Constitution names silver and gold together as the money metals of the United States, and the first coinage law passed by Congress made the silver dollar the monetary

unit and admitted gold to free coinage at a ratio based on the silver unit. The Act of 1873, demonetizing silver, has resulted in the appreciation of gold and a corresponding fall in the prices of commodities produced by the people. We are unalterably opposed to monometallism, which has locked fast the prosperity of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard times. . . . We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender equally with gold for all debts, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent the future demonetization of any kind of legal money by private contract."

The creditors of the government should not have the option of deciding the kind of money they should receive. The sale of bonds is condemned and also, "the trafficking with banking syndicates." The authority given to national banks to issue paper money is denounced as unconstitutional; all money should be issued by the Federal Government, and should be legal tender, and all of its paper currency should be redeemable in coin.

Having thus boldly and broadly proclaimed their position on the all-absorbing question, they must present a candidate identified with and in full sympathy with their views. A few names were considered in the preliminary conferences, but each lacked some of the elements of availability. In the discussion of the platform the problem was solved. One of its advocates was a young man from Nebraska whose speech electrified the convention and crowded audience, swept veteran statesmen off their feet, converted the deliberative body into a marvellous scene of tumultuous and frenzied enthusiasm. Here was an unannounced and unexpected Peter the Hermit, whose passionate earnestness and thrilling eloquence made him the recognized leader of the new crusade.

When the balloting commenced—before it commenced—the result was apparent and irresistible. William J. Bryan of Nebraska was nominated for President. Arthur B. Sewell of Maine was nominated for Vice-President.

It has been the uniform practice of national conventions to pass resolutions commending the administration which their party had chosen. In accordance with this custom, a resolution was offered eulogistic of President Cleveland's administration. But the feeling against his policy on the money question was so strong that the convention voted down the resolution.

If the action of the convention did nothing more, it at least demonstrated the fact that oratory is not a lost art; and that even in this prosaic and practical age assemblies can be bound by its witchery and led captive at its will. Mr. Bryan had served two terms as representative in Congress, and had made a couple of speeches there which were highly extolled. He is a lawyer by profession, but he had acquired no great distinction in his profession. When his service in Congress ended he became a journalist, but in that field of labor he did not rise to eminence. As a platform speaker he excelled, and to his gifts in that line, to his unblemished character, and to his zealous devotion to the cause of silver he owed the exalted position he secured.

The free-silver men, fearing that their interests and wishes might not be respected by either of the old parties, called a convention of their own to meet in St. Louis, July 22, 1896. Their platform had but a single plank. They

“appeal to the people of the United States to leave in abeyance for the moment all other questions, however important, and even momentous, they may appear, to sunder, if need be, all former ties and affiliations, and unite in one supreme effort to free themselves and their children from the domination of

the money power — a power more destructive than any which has ever fastened upon the civilized men of any race or in any age, and upon the consummation of our desires and efforts we invoke the gracious favor of Divine Providence."

There was no doubt about the earnestness and conscientiousness of these men. The Bimetallic League had existed for several years, working incessantly to disseminate their views. This convention was the outcome of their labors. It was composed of men who differed upon many questions, but who agreed to bury their differences, and who were bound together for a single purpose. However impracticable their theory may be regarded, it is impossible to prevent the conviction that they were sincere and honest. This may be conceded, even if some of them were fanatical.

The platform sets forth at length the reasons for condemning the system of finance which has been followed for many years. They consider the demonetization of silver to have been "the direful spring of woes unnumbered." They say:

"The demonetization of silver in 1873 enormously increased the demand for gold, enhancing its purchasing power and lowering all prices measured by that standard; and since that unjust and indefensible act, the prices of American products have fallen upon an average of nearly fifty per cent., carrying down with them proportionately the money value of all other forms of property. Such fall of prices has destroyed the profits of legitimate industry, injuring the producer for the benefit of the non-producer, increasing the burden of the debtor, swelling the gains of the creditor, paralyzing the productive energies of the American people, relegating to idleness vast numbers of willing workers, sending the shadows of despair into the home of the honest toiler, filling the land with tramps and paupers, and building up colossal fortunes at the money centres."

They resolved that as the Chicago convention (the

Democratic) had "enunciated the platform of the Bi-metallic League promulgated at Washington, D.C., January 22, 1896, and recognizing that their nominees embody these patriotic principles," "this convention nominate William J. Bryan of Nebraska for President, and Arthur Sewell of Maine for Vice-President."

The convention of the National People's party (the Populists) met in St. Louis at the same time that the Free-Silver convention was held. The Populists had some views in common with the silver men, but they were not to be circumscribed in the announcement of their full creed. The bulk of the convention were Western and Southern farmers. Although all the States were represented by a system of their own, the delegations were not controlled by population or Congressional representation. Texas alone had 103 delegates, and North Carolina had 95. It was an extremely voluble aggregation. Many of them were afflicted with the *cacathes loquendi*, and for several days of torrid temperature they made speeches in their meeting hall, in hotel lobbies, in saloons, and on the streets. They evidently believed that "speech is silver and silence is gold," and they determined to exemplify their theory that the proper ratio was 16 to 1.

A unique feature of the Populist convention was the presence and participation in its proceedings of quite a number of women, several of whom made speeches; others sang campaign songs. They displayed as much interest and enthusiasm as those who are usually called the stronger sex.

The Free-Silver convention endeavored to have the Populists combine or co-operate with them, and appointed a committee of conference on the proposition. But some were unwilling to surrender any of their notions; others were unwilling to have their organization absorbed and their own incidental prominence abated; others, while

measurably willing, were suspicious. In fact, a feeling of suspicion pervaded their ranks. They were not experienced in political activities, and feared they might be deceived and betrayed. They finally reached the point of being willing to make Bryan their nominee; but before committing themselves to this action they determined to make certain some recognition of their party. Accordingly, they did the unprecedented thing of nominating their candidate for Vice-President first. Thomas E. Watson of Georgia was selected to follow a chief as yet unnamed. Having secured this much, after days of disputation and perspiration, they at last made Mr. Bryan their candidate for President, but they utterly refused to yield the Vice-Presidency. The contention in their ranks resulted in a schism. Most of the party supported Bryan and Sewell, but those more tenacious for the integrity and independence of their party supported Bryan and Watson. They were called "middle-of-the-road men," because they could not swerve, but kept straight along the way they had marked out for themselves. In order to get the full combined vote for Bryan, who was the nominee of both parties, an arrangement was perfected between the Democrats and Populists in twenty-eight States by which each had a proportionate representation on the electoral ticket. All of the electors chosen were to vote for Bryan for President, and for Sewell or Watson for Vice-President according to the preference of the electors. By this scheme Sewell received 149 electoral votes and Watson received 17; the entire vote—176—being cast for Bryan.

The platform reaffirms the resolutions enunciated by their convention in 1892: All money to be issued by the government, without the intervention of banks, and to be full legal tender; free and unrestricted coinage of silver and gold at the present ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the consent of foreign nations; the volume

of currency to be speedily increased; legislation to prevent demonetization by private contract; no sale of bonds without the authorization of Congress; the government and not the creditor to determine the kind of money to be paid. A graduated income tax is demanded; "and we denounce the decision of the Supreme Court relative to the income tax as a misinterpretation of the Constitution and an invasion of the rightful powers of Congress over the subject of taxation."

They demand the establishment of postal savings banks; the government ownership of transportation lines and telegraphs. All lands not actually needed by corporations holding them should be reclaimed, and held for actual settlers, who should have free homesteads.

They favor the initiative and referendum system of legislation; the election of President, Vice-President, and United States Senators by a direct popular vote; home rule in the Territories; public salaries to correspond to the price of labor and its products; idle labor to be employed on public works as far as practicable; just pensions; a free and fair ballot; legislation to prevent the imprisonment of citizens for indirect contempt. They declare that "the United States should recognize that Cuba is, and of right ought to be, a free and independent state."

At the Socialistic Labor convention, in 1896, twelve States were represented. It was claimed that the party had organizations—called "Sections"—in twenty-seven States, and that they had polled 21,171 votes in 1892, of which 18,000 were cast in New York and New Jersey. They nominated C. H. Manchester of Brooklyn, N. Y., for President, and Mathew Maguire of Paterson, N. J., for Vice-President. This party was of a German socialistic school.

They declared that private property in the national sources of production and in the instruments of labor is

the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence. They pronounced in favor of the referendum in legislation; in favor of abolishing the veto power; in favor of the free administration of justice; in favor of abolishing capital punishment; in favor of equal and universal suffrage; a direct and secret ballot; and in favor of the removal of public officers by their constituents.

The Prohibition party, undismayed by their repeated failures to arouse the public to what they deem the crying evil of the age, held their national convention in Pittsburg, May 28, 1896. All of those in attendance were temperance men, but all were not temperate men. The "single-issue men" being in the majority, those who wanted to couple prohibition with free-silver and other issues withdrew. Those who were for prohibition, pure and simple, unmixed, nominated Joshua Levering of Baltimore for President, and Hale Johnson of Newton, Ill., for Vice-President.

They "resolved that we favor the legal prohibition by State and national legislation of the manufacture, importation, exportation, interstate transportation, and sale of alcoholic beverages." If they had added a prohibition of the use of liquors, the ground would have been fully covered. They deemed it "but right to leave every Prohibitionist the freedom of his own convictions upon all other political questions."

This year — 1896 — was memorable for independent political action. Party ties, which had usually been strong as steel, became ropes of sand. It has been seen that there was a rupture of the Republican convention at St. Louis. This, and the growth of other organizations, showed that fealty to party was no longer inexorable. There had been no open split in the Democratic convention at Chicago, but after the adoption of the platform a number of the delegates absented themselves,

or refrained from taking further part in the proceedings of the convention. There was muttering of dissatisfaction in many quarters. The rigid discipline of this party had become proverbial, and had kept it strong after repeated defeats. Differences of opinion upon some of the issues had been held in abeyance while its members, proud of its history, rallied under its time-honored flag. The Chicago convention had been regularly called; its delegates had been duly elected; its proceedings were in accordance with its established precedents; all of its traditions had been observed, and yet its binding authority was repudiated by the disaffected. They held conferences and caucuses in different cities, and at last a self-constituted committee called a convention to meet in Indianapolis on September 2d. They urged "all Democrats who are opposed to the platform adopted and candidates nominated at Chicago to organize in their several States, and to send representatives to the convention of the National Democratic party."

The right to bolt nominations regularly made and platforms regularly adopted cannot be denied in a free country. Nor can there be a denial of the right of such bolters to organize an independent party, instead of going over to the camp of the enemy. But there is a very serious question as to their right to assume the name and pretend to be the party whose organized action they oppose.

The election laws of some of the States interfered with the project of using the name "Democratic" by this new association. For tickets to be used at the elections are supplied by the State authorities, and there are certain requirements to be complied with in order to secure the insertion upon those tickets of the names of party candidates. The Democratic electors having already obtained recognition, no other set of electors, under the same name, could have a place on the official ballots. In

anticipation of and to avoid this difficulty the Gold Democrats of Pennsylvania, on August 25th, decided to call their organization the Jeffersonian party. Some of the best and ablest of those Democrats who did not accept the action of the Chicago convention declined to participate in the Indianapolis movement. One of their reasons was that they did not believe in the efficacy of the proposed remedy for the wrongs complained of and the evils feared. The avowed object was to contribute to the defeat of Mr. Bryan. It was urged that the contemplated new ticket would draw many votes which would otherwise be cast for Mr. McKinley, and thus make his election more certain. On the other hand, it was claimed that Democrats would not vote for McKinley, on account of his high protection principles, and that many would support Bryan unless given a Democratic standard to follow. The result alone could determine which side of the contention was correct. In any event, the seeds of discord sown in the Democratic party must yield an abundant harvest. A number of the electors chosen by the regular organization resigned. Hon. Hoke Smith, Secretary of the Interior, surrendered his portfolio for the sole reason that, although opposed to parts of the Chicago platform, he felt bound, as a loyal Democrat, to support the ticket of his party; and believing himself to be out of harmony, in this respect, with the President, he thought it right to withdraw from the President's official family.

The convention of the Gold Democrats met in Indianapolis on September 2, 1896. Forty-one States were represented, many of the delegates being men of national celebrity and of pronounced Democracy. They nominated John Palmer of Illinois for President, and Simon Bolivar Buckner of Kentucky for Vice-President. Palmer had been a distinguished general in the Union army, while Buckner was an able general in the Confederate

army. Thus, for the first time since the Civil War, those who had crossed swords in that conflict were placed side by side upon a national ticket. This marked an epoch in history, for at last the passions and prejudices engendered by the civil strife were entirely allayed; and Federal soldiers and loyal northern men placed in nomination for a high office one who had been prominent in the attempt to disrupt the Union. Both candidates were eminent in civil life, General Palmer being a United States Senator, and General Buckner had been governor of Kentucky.

The platform is a vigorous protest against, and a repudiation of, the action of the Democratic convention held in Chicago, which is denounced as having betrayed the party and perverted its principles. They declared for the maintenance of the gold standard; and "firmly opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and to the compulsory purchase of silver bullion"; but for the use of "silver at a parity with gold by its limited coinage under safeguards of law." They denounce "the present costly patchwork system of national paper currency as a constant source of injury and peril"; and favor "such intelligent currency reform as will confine the government to its legitimate functions, completely separated from the banking business, and afford to all sections of our country a uniform, safe, and elastic bank currency under government supervision, measured in volume by the needs of business." It may be expecting too much of a political convention to give the details of a fiscal scheme, but the vagueness of this declaration is somewhat disappointing. If the greenbacks, Treasury notes, and silver certificates are to be retired, a natural anxiety arises as to the basis of "the bank currency" proposed. This platform is subject to another criticism or inquiry. Did this convention, claiming to be *par excellence* Democratic, intend to foster a national banking system which the fathers of the

party and its authorized representatives had repeatedly declared to be unconstitutional and disastrous ?

After discussing the demerits of protection, the convention said : " In fine, we reaffirm the historic democratic doctrine of tariff for revenue only."

The platform says: " We demand that henceforth modern and liberal policies towards American shipping shall take the place of our imitation of the restricted statutes of the eighteenth century." The old-time Democrat will doubtless ask, " Does this mean that subsidies shall be granted to promote shipping ? " And, if so, " When and how did this become a Democratic doctrine ? "

The " merit system " applied to appointments to office is commended ; a liberal pension policy advocated ; President Cleveland is eulogized ; international arbitration is approved ; confidence in and respect for the Supreme Court is expressed ; the supremacy of law and the independence of its judicial administration is announced as a party dogma.

The lines of division between this convention and that held in Chicago — both in the name of Democracy — are well marked upon the silver question at least ; and that was the only reason for calling the Indianapolis convention. A serious rift was unquestionably made in the Democratic party. Whether or not it can ever be reunited the future alone can determine. It has lived through a hundred years, and has survived many defeats. The disruption of the Charleston convention weakened but did not destroy it. But then the regular organization was maintained, and after the war was recognized by the seceders.

The year 1896 was memorable for the number of conventions and candidates, and for its effect upon the future political history of the country.

The campaign of 1896 was the most unique and remarkable in the experience of this country, or of any other.

Mr. Bryan went to New York to receive the formal notification of his nomination. The ceremony took place at Madison Square Garden, on August 12th, in the presence of 15,000 to 20,000 people. The nominee made an elaborate and very able speech, and after a few days' rest to fortify himself for the great contest, he began a series of trips and speeches which continued without intermission for fourteen weeks, until the very eve of the election. A record of his tour shows that he travelled 18,831 miles, through 27 States, made 592 speeches in 477 different cities and towns. In one day he made 23 speeches, talking eight hours. It was estimated that over 2,000,000 saw or heard him. He spoke at early twilight, at noon, at midnight. He was frequently roused from his sleeping berth — he lived in a Pullman car — to address an eager crowd gathered at a railway station. It was a marvellous feat of physical endurance, and the mental strain was no less remarkable. He had no stereotyped speech. Each day he gave his hearers some fresh thought, some new illustration. Everywhere he went he was greeted with wild enthusiasm, and yet he does not appear to have been unduly elated. The manifest honesty of his convictions and his intense earnestness contributed very largely to his influence with his auditors. When partisan rancor shall have been fully allayed, it will be universally conceded that Mr. Bryan's campaign was the most brilliant as well as the most memorable in many ways that has ever been known.

Mr. McKinley's canvass was conducted upon different lines. He remained at his home in Canton, Ohio; but scarcely a day passed without bringing to his door thousands of people from different parts of the country, and representing different industries and interests. These delegations were well organized, as, in fact, was every part of his campaign. To each, whether miners, millhands, farmers, railroad employees, manufacturers,

women and children, Major McKinley made an appropriate address. The campaign statistician has recorded that 227 speeches were delivered on Mr. McKinley's front porch and on his lawn, but has not told how many pilgrims visited his shrine during September and October. The candidate welcomed all with cordiality, and addressed them with earnestness and force. His long experience in public life, his great knowledge of people and of economic history and the nation's wants, fitted him to meet his varying audiences with remarks upon the subject each delegation had most at heart. Mr. McKinley's well-established reputation as a popular public speaker was admirably sustained by his two months of continuous oratory.

The candidates of the Indianapolis convention—Palmer and Buckner—also made an active campaign. Neither they nor any of their supporters were deluded enough to imagine that there was the remotest possibility of their election. But they travelled and spoke with as much assurance as if they were formidable candidates. It is scarcely too much to say that their candidacy and their canvass was in a measure deceptive. Their first announced purpose was to hold the Democrats who were opposed to free silver. They ended by advising their adherents to vote for McKinley. They professed a fervent desire and purpose to preserve a Democratic organization, and yet they voluntarily marched their forces into the camp of the old-time enemy of their party, lowered their flag, stacked their arms, and surrendered unconditionally.

Joshua Levering, the Prohibition candidate, also did considerable stumping. The hopelessness of his cause did not diminish his ardor. Unquestionably he conscientiously contended for principle, without expectation of doing more than sow the seeds of reform.

It is not to be inferred that the several standard-bearers

were the only ones to champion the cause they represented. Scores of speakers, including most of the eminent men of the country, were on the stump advocating their respective candidates. During Presidential contests Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois have been accustomed to give their undivided attention to politics. This year these States were more than ever absorbed in the campaign. The Southern and extreme Western States were to a great extent given over to the Democrats, while the Eastern and Middle States were virtually conceded to the Republicans. Hence, the middle west became the great battle-ground. In Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Minnesota the struggle was extremely hot and very bitter.

The cartoonists did their usual effective and often humorous work. A novel feature was the introduction of the political poster, which revealed and enforced an argument more powerfully than an hour's speech could have done. There may not have been much art displayed, but there was an abundance of wit and some genius. Pictorial oratory delighted the people, and served "to point a moral and adorn a tale" ingeniously and powerfully.

As the election drew near, expectation and anxiety reached their highest pitch. The excitement was almost painful. All the leading newspapers and clubs had made extensive arrangements for receiving early returns on November 3d. Thousands gathered in the streets in front of the stereopticons, and watched the canvas with eager and impatient eyes. And so they stood massed together until midnight and after, giving wild vent to their overwrought feelings as bulletin after bulletin was displayed, until all were convinced that Mr. McKinley had been elected. Some of the more sanguine Democrats clung to a vain hope for a day or two. But when the result became unquestionable, there was a quiet and universal acquiescence—the grandest spectacle the world can

witness, and to be seen only where the people rule. The majority had decided, and the minority accepted the judgment without a murmur.

Although this was the most exciting, it was also the cleanest campaign the country had ever had. There was no "mud-slinging," no vituperation, no personal abuse. One of the great glories of this memorable year is its demonstration that a bitter campaign can be conducted with decency and concluded without dishonor. There were a few cases of blackguardism, but they were committed by irresponsible persons, and were promptly condemned by all reputable men.

The electoral vote was counted and announced in the Hall of the House of Representatives on February 10, 1897. No elector has ever been known, or would ever dare, to cast his ballot for anyone but the ticket he represented at the popular election. Hence, it was announced that of the aggregate votes in the electoral colleges¹

McKinley and Hobart received.....	271 votes
Bryan and Sewell "	149
Bryan and Watson "	17
	176 "

The popular vote for President was as follows:

McKinley	Republican.....	7,104,779
Bryan... ..	Democrat	6,502,925
Palmer.....	Gold Democrat	133,148
Levering.....	Prohibitionist.....	132,007
Bentley	Silver Prohibitionist	13,969
Machett.....	Socialist.....	36,276

From this it will be seen that there was a very narrow

¹ The electoral votes for McKinley were: California, 8; Connecticut, 6; Delaware, 3; Illinois, 24; Indiana, 15; Iowa, 13; Kentucky, 12; Maine, 6; Maryland, 8; Massachusetts, 15; Michigan, 14; Minnesota, 9; New Hampshire, 4; New Jersey, 10; New York, 36; North Dakota, 3; Ohio, 23; Oregon, 4; Pennsylvania, 32; Rhode Island, 4; West Virginia, 6; Wisconsin, 12—total, 271.

The votes for Bryan were: Alabama, 11; Arkansas, 8; California, 1;

margin in such an immense vote; seven to six is pretty close in a national contest. Of the States McKinley carried twenty-three, Bryan seventeen.

Mr. McKinley entered upon his executive duties with the Senate difficult to classify. There was a plurality of Republicans, but not a majority in the Senate. Certain of the Democrats would support his financial policy, but oppose his tariff views. Some of the silver Senators would support protection, but oppose any policy that will continue the gold standard. The following is an approximate alignment of the Senate and of the House.

Senate: 44 Republicans, 34 Democrats, 7 Populists, 3 Silver Republicans, 1 Silver Fusionist, 1 doubtful. The House had 204 Republicans, 122 Democrats, 15 Fusionists, 12 Populists, 3 Silver. This table and some of those heretofore given differ from some of the published statistics, for the reason that there were numerous contested seats; and as they were from time to time decided, the complexion of the House was changed. These contests were too often determined by party considerations rather than by their merits. It is reported that Thaddeus Stevens was accustomed to inquire, when a contested election was pending, "which is our d—d rascal?" This fairly illustrates the feeling which often controlled the judgment. The vicious system of paying the expenses of the contestants stimulated the institution of contests.

On March 4, 1897, Mr. McKinley was inaugurated with the usual grand parade. His inaugural address was very conservative upon the Cuban and Hawaiian questions, but very pronounced upon the tariff.

The composition of the President's Cabinet was well

Colorado, 4; Florida, 4; Georgia, 19; Idaho, 3; Kansas, 10; Kentucky, 1; Louisiana, 8; Mississippi, 9; Missouri, 17; Montana, 3; Nebraska, 8; Nevada, 3; North Carolina, 11; South Carolina, 9; South Dakota, 4; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 15; Utah, 3; Virginia, 12; Washington, 4; Wyoming, 3—total, 176.

known before it was formally announced. John Sherman, the new Secretary of State, had been very prominent in public affairs for half a century; J. D. Long, Secretary of the Navy, had been Governor of Massachusetts and a representative in Congress; James Wilson of Iowa, Secretary of Agriculture, had served in the lower House of Congress; Mr. McKenna of California, Attorney-General, had been in Congress. Neither of the other Cabinet ministers had held any official position in Washington, and hence no experience in national affairs. The Cabinet was generally regarded as respectable, but weak.

Soon after the inauguration the President called Congress to meet in special session on March 15th to consider the tariff, and the best means for increasing the revenues, which the condition of the Treasury so imperatively demanded. Congress met at the appointed time, and a bill was promptly introduced by Mr. Dingley, who had prepared it in anticipation of his appointment as chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. The bill was soon passed through the House, with comparatively little debate. In the Senate it was debated for many weeks, but there was no captious or merely obstructive opposition. Although a majority of the Senators were opposed to the administration, they made no combined effort to defeat the bill. It became a law on July 24, 1897, being signed by the President on the day it was passed.

A peculiar feature of this session of Congress was the limitation of its action almost entirely to the purpose for which it was called. There is nothing in the Constitution or statutes to prevent general legislation, and in fact the Senate acted upon a great many bills. But Mr. Reed, who was again elected Speaker of the House, persistently refused to appoint any of the committees except that of Ways and Means, and that on Appropriations. A few measures, to which there was no opposition, were permitted. But the Speaker would recognize no one whose

purpose in rising had not previously been made known to him and met with his approval. Perhaps never before was the autocratic power of the Speaker so fully exemplified and exercised. There can be no question that this power can be greatly abused. But how and to what extent that possible abuse can be prevented are unsolved problems.

During this special session there were eighty-nine Senators, there being one vacancy from Oregon by reason of the failure of the legislature to elect a successor to Senator Mitchell. The Governor of Oregon made an appointment to fill this vacancy. His power to make the appointment was denied on the ground that such authority could only be exercised when the legislature had had no opportunity to make an election. The appointee was not seated, and the matter went over to the regular session, when, after elaborate arguments, Mr. Corbett, the governor's appointee, was declared not to be entitled to the seat. The discussion and the vote (53 to 17) was almost entirely non-partisan.

On account of the mixed condition of the Senate, and the uncertainty of the action of so many Senators, unusual interest was taken in the elections of 1897, when several of the States were to choose legislators upon whom would devolve the duty of electing Senators. Kentucky is the only State in which the contest was fairly and squarely made upon a national issue. The regular Democracy declared their adherence to the Chicago platform, and especially to the free coinage of silver. The Gold Democrats carried over the fight of 1896, kept up their organization, and labored earnestly to defeat the regular organization. The Republicans continued steadfastly to advocate the gold standard.

The regular—free-silver—Democratic State ticket was elected by 17,284 majority, and they carried the legislature by a majority of seventy on joint ballot.

The election in New York City was watched with intense interest. It was the first municipal election since the boundaries of the city had been enlarged so as to make the corporation include more than 3,000,000 people. The immense patronage and power which the successful party would control stimulated every effort for success.

Van Wyck was nominated for mayor by the regular, or Tammany Democracy; Tracy by the regular Republican organization. There was a great outcry against the so-called bosses. Croker had returned to the leadership of Tammany Hall, and Senator Platt was at the head of the Republican organization. These were the two bosses upon whom the war was made. It assumed various phases. Several organizations or associations placed Seth Low in nomination as an independent anti-ring candidate. Mr. Low, being a Republican—as such he had been Mayor of Brooklyn—drew around him the disaffected of his own party, and a great many Democrats, especially of the well-to-do class, who were eager for reform in the city government. Although the Low movement was a revolt, many prominent Republicans supported him, including the Republican Mayor of the city, Carl Schurz, General McCook, and others.

Quite a number of other organizations and associations nominated Henry George as their representative of reform, anti-bossism, and greater personal liberty. George was a life-long Democrat; well known as an honest, consistent, and able friend of the working classes.

This quadrangular contest was carried on with a great deal of spirit, earnestness, and enthusiasm. Low, Tracy, and George, each with efficient aides, were on the stump for weeks, speaking at different places on the same day and night. Senators Thurston, Foraker, and others went to General Tracy's assistance, and strove to give a national aspect to the campaign. Van Wyck alone of the candidates refrained from stumping. But many meetings in

his behalf were held in all parts of the newly born city. Carter Harrison, Mayor of Chicago, with a large escort of local leaders, went on to New York to support Van Wyck.

Four days before the election, Henry George died very suddenly from overexertion and the tremendous strain of the contest. Generous and universal tributes were paid to the sterling honesty, the eminent abilities, the unselfish and unswerving devotion of Mr. George to the cause he espoused. His death was a tragic interlude in the political drama, beclouding it somewhat, but not checking its movement or delaying its conclusion. It is impossible to determine the effect of Mr. George's death upon the final result. An effort was made to hold his followers in line by nominating his son in his stead. While he was conceded to be a worthy son, he could not claim the homage, the affectionate and ready service which his father's name had invoked. It is probable that many rockribbed Democrats, who had gone with George against Tammany, lacking the enthusiastic influence of his leadership, went back to the support of the regular party organization. Many less rigid party men, following the logic of their opposition to bossism, turned to Low, as the remaining champion of reform.

The result of the election was as follows:

Van Wyck.....	Tammany Democrat.....	228,531 votes
Low.....	Citizens' Union.....	148,215 "
Tracy.....	Republican.....	101,994 "
George.....	Jeffersonian Democrat.....	19,836 "
—.....	Socialist Labor Party.....	11,033 "
Gleason.....	Independent Democrat.....	1,263 "

Van Wyck's plurality, 80,316.

The only State officer chosen at this election was Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals. For this position

Parker, Democrat, had.....	564,680 votes
Wallace, Republican, ".....	493,791 "

Rival ambitions for party leadership and official honors almost always create factions in a State. These factions are often created and kept alive by subordinate workers in the party, because certain of them are closer to one leader than to another, and hence have greater expectation of reward if their favorite is successful. Despite all the denunciation of political or party methods, and the general lamentation over the decadence and degeneracy of the times in this regard, it cannot be denied that *there is* patriotism in politics. Mankind is not so utterly selfish and so wholly unscrupulous as to sacrifice everything for their own advancement. But it is unquestionably the rule that zeal in a cause is stimulated by the expectation of personal advantage as a reward. As rival leaders cannot both control the patronage, it results sometimes that in the desire to crush or cripple the rival great injury is done to the cause both espouse. When the convention adjudges, for the time being, between the rivals, a politic submission postpones the open evidence of domestic quarrel. But under the appearance of peace and harmony jealousies burn and plots are hatched. It is an anomalous fact that men who in social, professional, and commercial transactions trust each other implicitly, will look with downright distrust upon everything done and every word said in politics. This may be accounted for by Mr. Morley's theory announced in his analysis of Machiavelli's character, *i. e.*, that there is no conscience in diplomacy. Inasmuch as partisan politics is domestic diplomacy, if this demoralizing theory is to prevail, it will force honest and honorable men to abstain more and more from participating in party councils, and from performing their full duty as American citizens. Their negligence in this regard has contributed largely to the very thing which they so strongly condemn, and to correct which they display an activity and earnestness that, if sooner exerted, would have averted the mischief, and

conserved the organization which their now belated zeal ferociously attacks. These ebullitions have beneficial results. They cultivate a spirit of independence which refuses to recognize the infallibility of party conventions, and declines to obey the dictates of caucuses or of self-constituted leaders. If such fearless independence was perennial, there would be some guarantee of well-considered and permanent reform. So long as it continues to be intermittent and impulsive, we can look for no enduring results.

The great zeal which spent itself in vain, cools into apathy and perhaps disgust. The glowing fire dies out; only ashes mark where it had burned. The spirit of reform goes to sleep for another twelvemonth. Some who have for the time being been animated by it return to their former affiliations; the temporary organization is dissolved; no one is authorized to proclaim a new crusade, which, if events demand, will repeat the experience of the past—a hasty gathering together of disbanded troops, a new assignment of commanders, imperfect discipline, and inevitable defeat.

The permanent party organizations may take counsel of their fears and remedy some of the evils complained of, and this in itself is some, and about the only, compensation for the impulsive and spasmodic efforts at reform.

The elections in Ohio were also watched with great interest. A governor and other State officers were to be chosen, and the legislature to be elected would choose a United States Senator. Mr. Hanna had been appointed by the Governor to succeed Senator Sherman, who had gone into Mr. McKinley's Cabinet. Mr. Hanna was chairman of the National Republican committee. He had conducted a wonderfully vigorous and successful campaign. He was the devoted and enthusiastic friend of the President. By all the precedents and by the

general judgment he was entitled to anything in the gift of the administration. It was understood that he declined to go into the Cabinet. Yet there was a mutual desire that he should be near the President. To further this end, Mr. Sherman resigned from the Senate, and was appointed Secretary of State. Bushnell, the Governor of Ohio, belonged to what was known as the Foraker wing of the party.

Two years before, it was stated, and generally believed, a truce had been agreed upon between the factions which bound both wings to support Bushnell for governor, Foraker for United States Senator, and McKinley for President. All adhered to the compact, and all three purposes were accomplished. But it was feared by his opponents that Mr. Hanna's position in the Senate, coupled with his close and intimate relations with the President, would give him undue power in the State. After much hesitancy and negotiation, Mr. Hanna was appointed Senator. But his tenure of office was only until the meeting of the next legislature.

The State convention met, and another truce, or an extension of the old one, was arranged. Bushnell was again nominated for governor, and a resolution was passed declaring in favor of Hanna for senator. The passage of such a resolution was outside the functions of the convention; but the precedent had been set in favor of Foraker, and it was tacitly accepted as authoritative. But the distribution of Federal patronage embittered the disappointed, and gave them a pretext, whether with or without reason, to charge Mr. Hanna with bossism. Aspiring men in the opposing faction chafed, grumbled, and some plotted and others threatened. With one side the election of Bushnell was the object of supreme concern. With the other the legislature was to be secured at all hazard. These elements of internal and perhaps secret strife, and the bold and aggressive contest made

by the Democrats, caused unusual animation, unusual effort, and unusual uncertainty. The result justified the apprehension, but scarcely satisfied the hopes of any.

Governor Bushnell's plurality was 28,165 against McKinley's plurality the year before of 48,497.

The returns from the various districts showed that the legislature stood, on joint ballot, Republicans 75, Democrats 65, Fusionists 5. This narrow margin of five votes encouraged the opponents of Mr. Hanna to hope and work for his defeat. It was thought that the Democrats, having no prospect of electing one of their number, could be induced to unite with the disaffected Republicans. Negotiations to that end resulted in a combination of all the Democrats with eight Republicans (anti-Hanna men) who had refused to enter the Republican caucus. And this combination elected the officers of both the Senate and House of Representatives, the Democrats having been conceded most of the positions. This formidable revolt caused consternation. Demonstrations were made all over the State. The bolters were unsparingly denounced. Protests, remonstrances, resolutions, letters, telegrams, were showered upon the recalcitrants. Delegations went to Columbus from many sections. The bitterest feeling and wildest excitement prevailed. Governor Bushnell had consented to be a candidate against Mr. Hanna. He was branded as a traitor to his party. Several of his appointees resigned in disgust. Organizations which had arranged to attend his inauguration withdrew their acceptance. A mass-meeting of Hanna Republicans was called to meet in Columbus on the day of the inauguration. The inaugural ceremonies were lacking in the ardor and enthusiasm usually incident to such occasions. The indignation meeting was immense, and bitterly earnest. Noted as Ohio has been for political excitement, all its past history was tame in comparison with the angry, turbulent, frenzied exhibition in January,

1898. Charges of bribery were boldly made by both factions. The struggle to secure the doubtful was persistent and ceaseless.

By law the two Houses balloted separately on the 11th of January. This was the culminating point of intense anxiety. The Democrats and the bolters held an all-night conference to effect united opposition to Hanna. A number of Democrats peremptorily refused to support Bushnell or Kurtz, who had been the organizer and fearless and untiring leader of the movement against Hanna. It was finally agreed that McKisson, Republican Mayor of Cleveland, should have the united support of the combination. Three Democrats refused to vote for any Republican. The situation was intensely critical; the strain was terrible. The result of ballot in the Senate was 19 for McKisson, 17 for Hanna. In the House McKisson received 49 votes, Hanna 56, and there were 3 scattered. This showed Hanna to have the slender margin of one vote over all opponents in joint ballot, provided all should then vote as they had done in the respective Houses.

To some extent this ballot relieved the tension. But the opponents of Mr. Hanna preserved an unbroken and defiant attitude, still boldly asserting that he would be defeated when the two Houses would meet in joint session. But there were no changes when the joint session was held. Each voted as he had done the day before, and Mr. Hanna was declared elected by a majority of one, amidst great jubilation.

The national character of this memorable contest was evidenced by the hundreds of congratulatory telegrams sent to Mr. Hanna from all sections of the Union.

In Maryland, also, the contest centred upon the legislative tickets. Mr. Gorman had been the master spirit of Democracy for many years. He had come to be called "the Boss," as was customary under such circumstances,

and had to bear the odium attached to such a position. Being alert, aggressive, experienced, and sagacious, he had managed many a campaign successfully, and retained undisputed leadership. This naturally engendered discontent amongst his rivals. He was charged with all manner of arbitrary, unscrupulous acts to promote selfish ends. He had been a senator for eighteen years, and had achieved a conspicuous and commanding position. As before suggested, various elements, from various motives, can without much difficulty be rallied against a recognized leader. Gorman had lost some of his prestige by the Republican success in 1896. But those who had achieved that result scrambled for the spoils and quarrelled amongst themselves. It seemed as if Maryland must be ruled by a boss, and it became, in a measure, a choice of bosses. Wellington had been elected Senator, as the first-fruit of the first Republican victory in the State. There was a bitter strife between him and the bulk of his party in Baltimore. Under these conditions the issue appeared doubtful. But the Republicans won, electing their candidate for Mayor of Baltimore, and a majority on the legislative ticket, placing in their hands the election of a United States Senator to succeed Mr. Gorman.

Here also there was an angry factional controversy. Governor Lowndes was announced as a candidate for the United States Senate. Several opposing candidates were spoken of, but there was no organized opposition. The governor apparently held the winning cards. But there was outspoken discontent. After numerous conferences, a few days before the meeting of the legislature, Governor Lowndes withdrew from the contest, and declared himself in favor of the election of Judge McComas. Postmaster General Gary supported McComas, and it was claimed that the President approved of his action. Senator Wellington had not been friendly to McComas, but

he was induced to support the judge. Judge McComas had served with marked ability for several terms in Congress, and had increased his reputation on the bench.

There had been an unwritten law in Maryland that both Senators should not be taken from the same section of the State. This law was violated in the election of Wellington; and a further violation was now contemplated. This was one of the grounds of opposition to Lowndes, and it was not allayed by substituting McComas, who, although a Federal Judge in Washington, D. C., retained a nominal residence in Hagerstown, in the county adjoining Senator Wellington's residence. The representatives from the Eastern Shore insisted on recognition; and those from Baltimore, claiming a predominance in population and interest for their constituents, demanded consideration.

A caucus held to nominate officers for the organization of the legislature ignored these claims, and eleven of the Baltimore representatives refused to be bound by the action of the caucus. The legislature on joint ballot stood: Republicans 67, Democrats 50. In the House of Representatives there were 49 Republicans; of these 11 from Baltimore refused to enter the party caucus. These 11, aided by 41 Democrats, organized the House by electing a Baltimore Republican Speaker. After several days of balloting the Baltimore line was broken, and Mr. McComas was elected.

There were no specially important elections in any of the other States. Each party retained control of those States which it had carried in 1896, except Kentucky and New York. The Republican majority was greatly reduced in such Republican strongholds as Iowa and Pennsylvania. But this could be accounted for by the largely diminished vote. There is always a reaction after the great strain of a Presidential election. This, with disappointments and heart-burnings, causes indifference, if

not hostility, and the number of the stay-at-homes is swelled.

The aggregate results of the elections immediately following that of November, 1896, may be summed up as follows: the Democrats reclaimed Kentucky and New York; the other States remained as classified after the Presidential election. In local elections the odds were with the Democrats. They had elected the Mayors of Boston, Chicago, and Detroit. These elections have no special significance, being influenced as they usually are by local considerations, by the common disposition to hold the authorities responsible for any defects in the municipal system, as well as for maladministration. But victories of less moment than these referred to give encouragement and hope, and certainly have an effect upon the masses who accept results without considering causes.

There was one feature of these municipal elections especially notable. Almost all of the daily papers in New York, Chicago, and Detroit vigorously opposed the successful candidate. This gives food for thought. Is the power of the press waning? If so, what is the cause? And what the remedy? If caused by an abatement of honesty and ability, it is a hopeful sign that the people repudiate their former leaders and assert their own independence in thought and action. On the other hand, if the masses have become so self-willed and stubborn as to no longer heed and follow the advice of those whose mission is to direct public sentiment, and who in fulfilling it are fearless and uncorrupted, then the outlook is far less hopeful.

When Congress met in regular session, on the first Monday of December, 1897, the President sent in his annual message. It was an elaborate and well-written document, covering all topics of domestic and international interest. The insurrection in Cuba and the relations of this country to Spain were treated exhaustively.

While deprecating and denouncing the barbarity of Weyler's rule in Cuba, the consequent demoralization of trade, and the terrible sufferings of the islanders, the President advised against any action by Congress looking to the recognition of Cuba's independence, or even to the rights of belligerency. At the same time, he plainly indicated his purpose to intervene in case the insurrection should not soon be suppressed or the Weyler policy be abandoned. Meanwhile, Canovas, the Spanish Premier, had been assassinated, and a new and much more liberal government had been established: Sagasta became Premier, and General Blanco superseded Weyler. The new government announced its purpose to discontinue the cruel policy of Weyler and to grant autonomy to Cuba. The proclamation of decrees to this effect wrought a marked change in public sentiment, both in this country and in Cuba. But there still existed here a strong feeling in favor of intervention, and in Cuba a determined opposition to the proffered autonomy. The basis of this feeling in both countries was want of confidence in the sincerity of Spain's promises.

On the 15th of February, 1898, the U. S. battleship *Maine*, lying in the harbor of Havana, was blown up and sunk, carrying to their death 264 seamen and 2 officers of the ship. The news sent a thrill of horror throughout the country. It was generally believed that this great outrage was the work of Spaniards, but that responsibility could not be fastened on the Spanish Government. A naval Court of Inquiry was appointed to ascertain the cause of the great disaster. The calm and dignified attitude of the President caused the general public to emulate his self-restraint and suppress the painful excitement everywhere manifest. But it was feared that war would ensue; and a bill was introduced appropriating \$50,000,000, to be expended at the discretion of the President in providing for the contingency. The unanimity of

sentiment was amazing; and the bill was passed speedily without a single negative vote being recorded. Republicans, Democrats, Populists, Free-Silver men, all, in both Houses, voted for this unprecedented proposition. Several Senators and representatives visited Cuba, and returning gave graphic accounts of the frightful condition of the Cubans, and the enormous number already dead by starvation and neglect. Public sympathy and indignation were intensely aroused, and armed intervention was strenuously advocated.

Congress had voted \$50,000 to relieve the destitute and suffering Americans in Cuba, and the generous and sympathetic people were sending ship-loads of supplies. All this, it was reported, gave but partial relief.

The President announced that negotiations with Spain were pending which would lead to a satisfactory issue. Under this assurance his party friends hesitated to break with him. The Democrats tried to force the issue by resolutions to recognize the independence of Cuba, and to intervene to that end. It was said a few pages back that there is patriotism in politics. It is equally true that there is politics in patriotism. The report of the Naval Court of Inquiry was sent in on March 25th, and it seemed impossible to restrain Congressional action, many wishing to declare war without further delay. Both parties struggled for position. The Republicans would not permit the Democrats to gain any of the prestige of initiating action, and they held their forces well in hand, waiting for a message from the President reporting the progress of negotiations and outlining his proposed policy. In this way action was delayed from day to day. But the delay could not prevent the ebullition of passion and fiery eloquence at each session. After several delays, which provoked criticism and charges that the President was vacillating, the message was sent to Congress on

April 7th. The message was a strong recital of the misgovernment, cruelty, brutality, broken faith, and barbarity of Spain in Cuba. On April 13th, the Committees on Foreign Affairs in the Senate and House presented their reports — majority and minority. All of the resolutions accompanying the reports were in favor of immediate intervention by the United States to stop the war in Cuba; and to secure to the people of Cuba a stable and independent government of their own creation; and authorizing (in the Senate resolution *directing*) the President to use the land and naval forces to accomplish the purpose. The minority resolution in the House recognized the present Republic of Cuba, and authorized and directed armed intervention to aid in maintaining that Republic. This was voted down by a vote of 191 to 147. Thereupon the resolution of the majority for armed intervention to secure peace and order in Cuba, and establishing a free and independent government by the people of the island, was passed by 324 to 19. Both the majority and minority resolutions in the Senate were more radical. The majority recognized the independence of the people (not the Republic) of Cuba, and demanded that Spain at once relinquish authority and government in Cuba, and withdraw her land and naval forces therefrom; and directed the President to use force to carry the resolutions into effect. The minority recommended the immediate recognition of the Republic of Cuba. In the House debate was limited to forty minutes. But in the Senate "the previous question," or *clôture*, does not prevail, and debate continued for two days. Finally, by a decisive vote, the House resolutions were superseded by others recognizing the independence of the Republic of Cuba; demanding that Spain withdraw her land and naval forces, and relinquish jurisdiction over Cuba; and directing the President to use the army and navy to enforce this demand. A resolution was added, disavowing any purpose

upon the part of this government to exercise jurisdiction over, or control of, the people of Cuba. The greatest excitement and impatience was manifested in both chambers, in their crowded galleries, and throughout the country. There was an earnest desire to reach an agreement. But the House was resolutely opposed to the recognition of the existing Cuban government, and the Senate just as resolutely favored such recognition. The Democrats of both Houses were in favor of recognition. The Republicans in the Senate were about evenly divided on this point, while in the House they stood compactly against it, with the exception of fourteen who voted with the Democrats. The House agreed to the Senate amendments except those which recognized the Republic of Cuba. Repeated conferences were held, and the session was prolonged far into the night. Finally, at three o'clock in the morning, an agreement was reached. In addition to the specific recognition of the Republic, the Senate resolutions declared that "the people of Cuba *are*, and of right ought to be, free and independent." The House had fought hard to have the two words "are and" stricken out; but they yielded at the last, and these words were allowed to remain; so that while the Cuban government was not recognized, the people of Cuba were declared to be free and independent. The vote on agreeing to the conference report shows how tenaciously the Senate clung to the wish to recognize the Cuban Republic. Forty-two voted yea and thirty-five voted nay. The negative votes do not indicate any opposition to the general purport of the resolutions, for amongst them were many of the most pronounced and extreme advocates of the Cuban cause. In the House the vote was practically unanimous in agreeing to the report of the conference committee, viz. : 310 to 6. The result showed that while partisans would play for position and prestige, they would unite in whatever was deemed necessary to

manifest the nation's humanity and honor. The subsequent events pertain rather to a history of the times than to a history of political parties, except in so far as the results of the war developed new issues, upon which parties must pronounce judgment. War was declared on April 20th. Commodore Dewey was at the time in command of the American fleet at Hong-Kong. Neutrality having been proclaimed by China, Dewey was obliged to weigh anchor. He stopped in Mirs Bay, then hastened on to Manila, the capital city of the Philippine Islands. Early on the morning of May 1st he sailed into the harbor of that city, gallantly and furiously attacked the Spanish forts and war vessels, and in a few hours totally destroyed the Spanish fleet of ten war-ships, captured the naval stations and forts at Cavite, and this without losing a single man. A widespread and formidable insurrection against Spanish rule was in full operation. The insurgents almost surrounded Manila on the land side, and Dewey's fleet beleaguered the city on the bay. The situation remained unchanged until a large land force, under General Merritt, had been assembled; which force, in connection with the men-of-war, attacked Manila and compelled its surrender on August 13, 1898. In the meantime, on August 12th, a protocol of peace was signed at Washington. This was brought about by the decisive victories of our army and navy at Santiago, in the south of Cuba, and on the island of Porto Rico.

The protocol provided that: (1) Spain should relinquish all sovereignty over Cuba; (2) Spain should cede to the United States the island of Porto Rico and other West Indian islands under Spanish sovereignty, and also an island in the Ladrones, to be selected by the United States; (3) the United States to "occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbor of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace, which shall determine the control,

disposition, and government of the Philippines." Commissioners were appointed by the two powers to conclude a formal treaty of peace. They met in Paris, and after several weeks of consultation and discussion, agreed to and signed a treaty which embodied all the points of the protocol. Several matters, immaterial to the present history, were vigorously insisted upon by the Spanish commissioners; but the chief contention was that Article 3 of the protocol did not justify the United States in demanding a cession of the Philippines, as had been insisted upon by the commissioners of our government. The pathetic spectacle of the once powerful kingdom of Spain pleading for a retention of her sovereignty over her Eastern islands was finally ended by yielding to the inevitable, and conceding what she had no longer power to prevent.

During the negotiations, the policy of remote foreign acquisitions by the United States was very generally discussed in the public press and by prominent statesmen. It was contended, on the one hand, that the addition of these islands, both in the Atlantic and Pacific, was unauthorized by the Constitution; and, even if authorized, was contrary to all of our history, tradition, and the spirit of our institutions; that it was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, and that it was a dangerous menace to our system of government to bring into our national family about 12,000,000 people, most of them of different races, uneducated, and utterly ignorant of free government; that for their control a large army and navy would have to be maintained at great expense; that these people were totally incapable of self-rule, and to hold them under military control was violative of our well-established national policy, and repugnant to our form of government. On the other hand, it was argued that our nation had outgrown the precedents, practices, and limitations of its early days; that the admonitions of the fathers, well enough in their day, should not affect the changed

conditions; that it was due to our standing amongst nations, to our own growth, wealth, and power that we should expand and take our place with the foremost of other nations; and that, having made war upon Spain because of her tyrannical, cruel, and oppressive rule in Cuba, we were bound by the highest principles of humanity to protect all whom the fortunes of war had placed in our power from ever again becoming subject to the odious government of Spain.

The opponents of expansion, in order to make it more distasteful to the American people, called it "imperialism." The issue thus formed presents many perplexing problems, which must inevitably affect the two great political parties, and present subjects of contention differing from those hitherto struggled over. Many Democrats—notably Senator Morgan—support expansion; and more Republicans—notably Senators Hoar and Hale and ex-Senator Edmunds—oppose it. An Anti-Expansion League was formed in Boston, and everywhere the discussion, *pro* and *con.*, became quite animated. An incident growing out of the treaty caused further discussion amongst the Republicans. In the clause ceding the Philippines, it was provided that in those islands there should be an open door for the commerce of all nations. Whether or not that was the object, the effect was to conciliate Great Britain, Germany, and other European and Asiatic powers. But it looked so much like free trade and an abandonment of protection, that many Republicans were startled at this departure from their time-honored theory.

Opposition to the policy of expansion did not cease when the treaty of peace was signed by the commissioners in Paris. On the contrary, it increased in steadfastness and bitterness. When the treaty was submitted to the Senate a protracted debate ensued, when Senator Davis—chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations

—who had charge of the treaty, after consultation with the President and others, fearing that it would be rejected, temporarily withdrew it from consideration. Finally, after unwearied efforts at proselyting, the treaty was again brought before the Senate, and on February 6, 1899, it was ratified by a vote of 57 to 27, being barely two thirds. Eight Democrats voted for ratification; two Republicans, Hoar and Hale, voted against ratification. The ratification was, in part, secured by an agreement that Senator McEnery's resolution should be passed after the ratification of the treaty. This resolution declared that the Philippines should not become a part of the United States, and that American control should cease when the natives were able to form and maintain a government. This resolution was agreed to by the vote of 26 to 22. Sixteen Republicans, six Democrats, and four silver men voted in the affirmative; and eight Republicans and fourteen Democrats in the negative. This being a joint resolution, it went to the House for concurrence, but the session being near to its close no action was had.

The votes cited show that neither party was united in sentiment. But just before the closing of the session, at a caucus of the Democratic members of the House, a resolution was passed declaring that the United States disclaim any disposition or intention to exercise permanent sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the Philippine Islands; and assert their determination, when an independent government shall have been erected therein, to transfer to said government, upon reasonable terms, all rights secured under the cession by Spain, and thereupon to leave the government and control of the islands to their people.

How far the Democratic National convention may be guided by the spirit indicated, and what position the Republican National convention may take upon the subject of territorial expansion and the form of government for

the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Hawaii, is yet to be ascertained. But there is little doubt that this will be one of the principal issues in the next Presidential campaign.

The President vigorously urged the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, a second treaty to that effect having been negotiated. To this there was much and determined opposition. After three months of debate, in secret session of the Senate, it became apparent that the two-thirds vote necessary to ratify the treaty could not be secured, and a joint resolution, embodying the terms of the treaty, was introduced. This was following the precedent established in the annexation of Texas; and as a bare majority in each House was sufficient, the joint resolution was passed and approved by the President, July 7, 1898, and on August 12th, the flag of the United States was raised in Honolulu, and the islands became annexed. A joint commission, composed of Senators Cullom and Morgan, and Representative Hitt and Mr. Dole and Mr. Frear of Hawaii, was appointed to recommend to Congress such legislation as they might deem proper for the government of the newly acquired islands. The commissioners recommended the usual form of government for territories, with important restrictions as to citizenship, qualifications as to the right to vote and hold office.

The administration, in response to a general public demand, undertook to reform the financial policy of the government. Supplementing the President's message, the Secretary of the Treasury prepared a plan to retire the greenbacks and increase the volume of national bank notes. Before the committee of Congress and in numerous speeches before financial and commercial bodies Mr. Gage advocated his scheme. The trouble over Cuba drove this question to the background, and nothing was done.

For some years both parties in their platforms pledged themselves to civil service reform. There had been

angry mutterings amongst the disappointed after each Presidential election. The scope of the law had been enlarged by Harrison, and further still by Cleveland during his second term. There was quite an outbreak of hostility to the law soon after Congress met. Although the President was committed to the law, General Grosvenor, his intimate friend, made a fierce onslaught upon the law and the practice under it. He was seconded by a number from each side of the House.

The elections in 1898 produced some surprise; Idaho, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, Washington, and Wyoming, which had cast their votes for Bryan in 1896, returned to the Republican fold, although in their States the silver question and the Chicago platform were prominent elements in the contest. In the Middle and Eastern States generally, these issues were ignored. In New York, Colonel Roosevelt was nominated by the Republicans for governor. He had made a brilliant record leading the Rough Riders in the battle near Santiago; before which he had become conspicuous as a bold, independent, and aggressive Republican. The "machine" element was inclined to oppose him, but they were swept aside by the popular enthusiasm, which is always evoked by the glamour surrounding a military hero. The Democrats nominated Judge Van Wyck,—an upright and able man,—but he had to bear the odium of being the choice of Tammany. Roosevelt conducted a picturesque and somewhat sensational campaign—taking with him through the States some of his famous Rough Riders. Tammany's strength was impaired by its refusal to re-nominate Judge Daly, a clean and able Democrat. So, notwithstanding the perfect organization of that great society, Roosevelt was elected by 21,000 majority. The Democrats, however, elected nineteen representatives to Congress, where they had but seven in the fifty-fifth Congress.

In North Carolina the race issue predominated, causing much excitement and bloodshed. There was but one avowed Republican elected to Congress.

Different local questions determined the results in other States; the total effect being that the Republican majority of 47 in the fifty-fifth Congress was reduced to 21 in the fifty-sixth Congress.

In Minnesota the Democrats elected the governor, which they had not done before for many years. The net result of all the elections showed that, for the head of the ticket, or control of the legislature, the Republicans had carried twenty-one States and the Democrats had carried twenty; the other States not having held general elections. But the Democrats were left without a single governor in the north, northwest, or on the Pacific coast.

The legislatures chosen in the various States made certain the election of Republicans to several seats in the United States Senate held by Democrats; so that, on March 4, 1899, that body consisted of 51 Republicans, 26 Democrats, 4 Populists, 2 Silver Republicans, 2 Silver, and 4 vacancies; giving the dominant party a clear majority of 16.

The elections of 1898 produced another exception to the general rule that, during the second half of every administration the President has been confronted with an opposition majority in the House.

In some States there was a protracted and spirited contest before an election was effected, and in four States—Delaware, Utah, California, and Pennsylvania—the struggle was so stubborn and angry that the legislatures of these several States adjourned without electing a senator. In several States charges of bribery were boldly made, and investigations and even prosecutions ordered.

The difficulty in some States, and the impossibility in four, in the matter of the election of senators by the

legislatures, and the frequent accusation of corruption in such elections, has produced a growing sentiment in favor of having the senators chosen by popular votes. This is a new phase in our political history, which may lead to a new issue between parties, difficult, almost impossible, as the alignment may at present appear to be.





GENERAL REVIEW

EITHER the American people are very fickle, or their chosen leaders have failed to understand the popular desire, or, understanding, failed to respond, and endeavored to bring the masses to their standpoint. Since the days of Jackson, the rule has been that the party which secured the Presidency, at the same election chose Congressmen of the same political faith, but two years thereafter sent a majority to the House of Representatives who were hostile to the administration in power. So that in every second term of Congress, in nearly every instance, the political control of legislation was transferred from one party to the other. The exceptions to this rule were during the period of the Civil War, when patriotism was stronger than partisanship; and during both of Lincoln's terms the Republicans were in the ascendancy in Congress. Or perhaps it was not so much the supremacy of patriotism which secured this result as the absence of representatives from the insurgent States. Another variance from the rule occurred in Cleveland's first term, when the House was Democratic for four years; the Senate, however, was Republican; and during the second half of McKinley's, when the elections were to some extent influenced by the war with Spain, and a majority in both Houses was Republican. Prior to Jackson's election there had been entire political harmony between the administration and Congress, except during two years of the elder Adams's term, when there was an

adverse House, and during the full term of John Quincy Adams, when both branches of Congress were antagonistic.

These regular changes of public sentiment, or withdrawal of confidence once bestowed, are not always easy of explanation. It is no doubt true that during Presidential elections party spirit runs higher and party lines are more closely drawn, and the popular candidate at the head of the ticket, by his personal strength, carries the Congressional candidates with him to success. Then follows a calmer and more reflective period, when the character and qualifications of the representatives are more carefully weighed, and the verdict of disapproval is more unerringly recorded. It is a fortunate thing for the country that there should be this independence in voting, and a consequent transition of parties. It is quite as salutary and effectual as the English system and that of other limited monarchies: of the resignation of the Cabinet when any of its measures are defeated in Parliament. In our case, the people must register their judgment every two years. In England, this right can only be enforced every seven years.

Another explanation of the biennial changes may be found in the fact that the parties every four years formulate and promulgate the measures which they respectively propose to carry out. Appeals to the people are made to enlist their support of these principles as represented by the candidates. The principles are accepted as a frank statement of the policy to be pursued. After the election the voters find that they have been deceived, or have misread the platform, or else that those elected to advance its theories have put a different construction upon the tenets, or perchance have proved recreant.

Parties are founded on certain fundamental doctrines, to which they adhere with more or less fixity of purpose. At the same time, when their conventions meet they take

cognizance of the existing sentiments of the people, and do not hesitate to make such modifications of previous declarations as may seem to be more in accordance with the popular will, and best calculated to win votes. And as new issues arise in the development of national life, they aim to espouse the side which seems to give assurance of the strongest support. Should the temper of the people be not well ascertained or clearly defined, conventions have been known to deal in ambiguous phrases, to "palter in a double sense," and thus arouse the ire and provoke the retribution which ensues. Mr. Lincoln quaintly said: "You can fool all of the people sometimes, and some of the people all the time; but you can't fool all of the people all the time." The proportion of those who vote independently of party may not be large, but it has proved to be sufficient to redress some grievances, and to prevent either party from becoming too self-assured and defiant.

In the early days of the Republic, the country was not disturbed by questions of the tariff or of the currency, which in later years have been quite momentous. But the strong line of demarcation between the Democrats and the Federalists was as to the spirit in which the Constitution should be interpreted and the powers of the general government be applied. The Democrats contended for a strict construction, denying that the United States had any inferential powers, or could exercise any which had not been expressly conferred on it by the organic law, and that all powers not enumerated remained inviolably with the States or the people. The Federalists claimed that the Constitution should be liberally construed, and that the Federal Government had complete power except as to matters wherein it was expressly prohibited from taking jurisdiction. The position of the Democracy was so frequently and emphatically approved by the people that it ceased to have any open opposition.

Whatever may have been the practice of the Republican party during the stress of civil war, it recognized the Democratic theory on the point under consideration. The convention of 1860 resolved "that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved," and again "that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends." The Democratic and Republican parties being both clearly committed to a recognition of State rights, it may be considered that this is an established doctrine.

The election of Jackson brought to the front a question arising out of the construction of the Constitution. When Alexander Hamilton was Secretary of the Treasury, he procured the establishment of a National Bank. A renewal of its charter was desired; Jackson opposed it, contending that Congress had no power to incorporate such an institution. And this became an article in the Democratic creed. It is true that in Madison's administration a similar charter was granted, which made the position of the party for the time being inconsistent. But they swung back to their old position, and when this second charter expired, and a bill renewing it was passed, Jackson vetoed it; and from that time forward until the war period, the Democratic National conventions declared every four years that "Congress had no power to charter a National Bank." The Whigs ceased to contend for the establishment of such an institution, and the Democratic theory prevailed. The Sub-Treasury system, established by the Democracy as a substitute for the National Bank, is still maintained as a part of the financial machinery of the United States.

The Whigs were in favor of the distribution amongst

the States of the proceeds of the sale of the public lands. This the Democrats opposed, and insisted that revenues thus arising should be paid into the Federal treasury, and used for general expenses. The Democratic policy on this subject ceased to be resisted. These may be considered dead issues, upon all of which the Democracy were successful.

Before adverting to the unsolved problems, the disputed questions, in which the people are still greatly interested, it should be set down to the credit of the Democratic party that under its authority all of the vast area which was added to our national domain prior to the war with Spain — except Alaska — was acquired; that it promulgated the Monroe Doctrine, which, if not international law, is irrevocable American law, and has been approved by both parties; that in the *Martin Koszta* case it established the principle that a naturalized or half-naturalized citizen of this country has rights equal to the native-born, which rights foreign nations must respect; that it successfully and victoriously carried the country through two wars with foreign powers; that it opened the ports of Japan to our trade; that it crushed the spirit of bigotry and intolerance in the Know-Nothing days; and firmly maintained freedom of conscience and of worship. If its theories upon pending issues shall be condemned, and its usefulness shall cease, it may be permitted to boast of having written many brilliant and valuable chapters of American history.

Upon the question of internal improvements, the record of the Democratic party has not been consistent.

By reference to the foregoing chronological history, it will be seen that Democratic administrations and Congresses sometimes favored certain specific internal improvements, which involved a comparatively small outlay. But until 1856 it denied that the Federal Government has power under the Constitution to engage in internal

improvements. In the year just named, when the new territorial acquisitions on the Pacific, by reason of the gold-mining operations, had become very populous and demanded quicker and more direct communication with the East, it resolved "that the Democratic party recognizes the great importance, in a *political and commercial* point of view, of a safe and speedy communication, by military and postal roads through our own territory, between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the Union, and that it is the duty of the Federal Government to exercise promptly all its constitutional power for the attainment of that object." In 1860, this was followed by an explicit declaration in favor of "such constitutional government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific Coast at the earliest practicable period." What was meant by "constitutional aid" developed into aid which was of more than doubtful constitutionality—the government guaranteeing the bonds of a private corporation, and granting them extravagant donations of the public lands. The Democrats were not directly responsible for this legislation; but they approved it, and it may be claimed, in part at least, to have been the logical deduction from their expressed willingness to have the government contribute to these enterprises. In 1884 the party threw off the restraints of its former doctrine, and clearly declared that "the Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River, and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide water." A similar resolution was passed by each convention since. Whether or not this is in accordance with constitutional power is not here discussed; the only purpose being to show that, even on fundamental questions, views may be changed by new conditions and the interests of advancing civilization.

Upon the tariff the Democracy have been no more

consistent. In 1848 they rejoiced "in the noble impulse given to the cause of free trade." Twenty years later, in 1868, they declared for the tariff for revenue which "will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon, and best promote and encourage, the great industrial interests of the country." In 1876 they said: "We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue." In 1880 they adhered to this position, changing the phraseology to "a tariff for revenue only." In 1884 there was a reaction which carried them back to yet more advanced views than those proclaimed in 1868. They said:

"Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved.

. . . . The necessary reduction and taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country."

In 1888 they still considered that other things besides revenue were to be taken into account in framing tariff legislation. "Our established industries and enterprises should not be endangered." In 1892, the Committee on Resolutions sought to keep the party anchored in the moorings it had chosen in 1884; and with that view they reported substantially the same tariff resolution which had been adopted eight years before. But by a vote of 564 to 342 the convention broke the anchor-chain and drifted away from the old offings. They denounced "protection as a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few." And they denied that, under the Constitution, Congress had

any power " to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purposes of revenue only." This radical position was not reaffirmed in 1896, but instead a rather colorless resolution on the subject was adopted.

In recent years the position of the Democracy on the money question has been vacillating or equivocal. For more than half a century every convention condemned the establishment of a national bank, and firmly supported a metallic currency. Opposition to a national bank has ceased to find a place in their platform. And in 1868 they went so far as to declare that " where the obligations of the government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide, that they shall be paid in coin, they ought in right and in justice to be paid in the lawful money of the United States." This was before the Supreme Court had decided that Congress had the power to make paper currency a legal tender, and while the subject was being warmly discussed, and when, in view of its traditions and antecedents, the Democratic party should have repudiated the suggestion that there could be any money but coin. Now they had become so converted to the greenback theory that they proposed to substitute paper for coin in discharging the debts of the government. In 1872 they veered around, and demanded the prompt resumption of specie payments. In 1880, 1884, and 1888 they pronounced for " gold and silver (1884 ' coinage of the Constitution ') and paper convertible into coin on demand." Silver had been demonetized in 1873, and had become a marketable commodity, the United States being by law compelled to be the purchaser. The exact purpose of the resolutions of 1880, '84, '88 is not clear; whether remonetization, open coinage, or both. The advocates of the white metal became more strenuous and imperative, and the convention of 1892 was constrained to be more specific. They said:

"We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage; but the dollar unit coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall secure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par and redeemable in such coin."

This furnished ample material for construction and inference. But the next clause was an unequivocal declaration in favor of an unlimited increase of paper money. "We recommend that the prohibitory ten per cent. tax on State bank issues be repealed."

Ambiguity or evasion upon the silver question could no longer be tolerated. Whatever may have caused the depression in business and the widespread distress, it was manifest that no relief could be hoped for while the great uncertainty as to the government's financial policy should continue. Everywhere, in all parties, there was a persistent demand that the issue should be fairly and frankly met. That the Democratic convention of 1896 was responsive to this demand cannot be questioned, whatever may be thought of the wisdom of its action. They proclaimed: "We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation." They also demanded that the silver dollar should be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private; and that the option of deciding in which coin the obligations of the United States should be paid should belong to the government and not to its creditors; and that national banks had no constitutional power to issue paper money.

It is interesting to trace the evolution of the sentiment

in favor of free silver coinage. In 1880, the Greenback convention declared in favor of "the unlimited coinage of silver." The United Labor convention of 1888 said: "We should have free coinage of silver." In this year the National Farmers' congress took the same stand. In 1889 and 1890, the Farmers' Alliance (which developed into the People's party) made similar declarations, which were repeated by the National People's party in 1892, and by the Silver convention of 1895. So it grew: not having been fathered by any dominant party, nor nurtured by practical politicians, until adopted as a child of Democracy in 1896.

In 1884, the Democratic convention declared for "honest civil service reform,"—a phrase vague enough to be interpreted as supporting the civil service system established by law; or to mean merely general reform in the administration of public affairs. But in 1888, the convention commended civil service reform as "inaugurated and maintained by President Cleveland." The President having approved of the law on this subject and enlarged the sphere of its operations, this resolution fairly committed the party to the system. But in 1896 the platform says: "We are opposed to life tenure in the public service"; which is manifestly a declaration of hostility to the civil service system.

Absolute consistency is not to be expected of any political organization; and moreover it is not to be desired. It would be rank Bourbonism—forgetting nothing and learning nothing. While adhering to fundamental principles, a party should always adapt its policies to the varying conditions and existing interests and wants of the general public. How far the Democratic party has followed or departed from this rule may be gathered from this sketch of its history.

The Republican party came into power at the most critical period of the country's history since the Consti-

tution was adopted. States were passing ordinances of secession, and were arming for a bloody conflict. Mr. Lincoln's conciliatory attitude and his kindly assurances were powerless with the excited and fiery Southerners. When constrained to see that war was inevitable, he displayed as much of energy and wisdom as he had before shown of caution and calmness. His appeal to the patriotism of the nation was promptly, generously, and universally responded to throughout the North. Party spirit was suspended. But the Republicans were in power, and so continued until after peace was restored, and to them must be given the credit of carrying to success the greatest military struggle of modern times; it might almost be said of any time. To them belongs the credit of the direct and incidental results of the war. The most momentous of the direct results was the extermination of slavery; and perhaps the most important of the indirect results was the taxing out of existence of irredeemable or imperfectly secured paper money, and substituting the national banking system. As another incidental result, the Republicans are responsible for dumping into the political arena a million or more of voters, immediately investing them with the elective franchise, of which they were totally ignorant and for the use of which they were utterly unfitted.

The reconstruction policy and practices have been adverted to in the chronological order of events. An honest and calm examination, which may now be made, must leave on the debtor side of the Republican account a series of acts unauthorized by the Constitution, and unjustified by casuistry or any plea of necessity; and which produced a fearful carnival of crime.

During the first years of its existence, the Republican party was scarcely more stable or more clearly defined than the Democracy upon the tariff question. In 1856, the convention was silent on the subject. In 1860, they

were for "such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country"; which was substantially the one-time Democratic doctrine of incidental protection. In 1864, they were for "a vigorous and just system of taxation," which conveyed no meaning as to the subject under consideration. In 1868, they were still more vague, if not retrograde, in their declaration, saying: "It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit." In 1872, they returned to the policy of incidental protection. In 1876 and 1880, they took virtually the same position. In 1884, they dropped the words "encourage" and "promote," and for the first time adopted the term "protection," which has since become their shibboleth. But at the same time that they announced this dogma, they pledged themselves "to correct the inequalities and reduce the surplus—by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the labor or the great productive interests of the country." In 1888 they took open, unequivocal, and bold ground, declaring: "We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection." The two conventions held since have reiterated this announcement, leaving no room for doubt as to the present attitude of the party. And they emphasized this attitude by nominating for President the man who formulated the platform of 1888, and who is universally recognized as one of the most steadfast, ablest, and most advanced advocates of protection for the sake of protection.

The theory and practice of the Republican party as to the public lands cannot be easily harmonized. The Free-Soil party—which was the mother of the Republican party in 1852—declared against selling or granting to corporations any of the public lands; that they should be held as a sacred trust for free homesteads to actual

settlers. In 1860, they advocated the passage of a free homestead law. In 1864 and 1868, the subject was not referred to in their platform, but their Senators and representatives were busy making immense and extravagant donations of land to corporations; and foreign syndicates were permitted to acquire vast areas of our most valuable domain. Then came a reaction; and the conventions since have pronounced against any further grants to corporations, and in favor of free homesteads.

The record of the Republican party on the money question has been generally consistent and direct. In 1868, when the payment of United States bonds with "greenbacks" was agitated, and the Democratic party committed itself to that policy, the Republicans insisted that good faith and the national honor demanded that the spirit of the law, and not the letter merely, should be observed in interpreting the contract under which the obligations were issued. They continued to declare that the national debt was inviolate, and to denounce all forms of repudiation. As the silver interest became more urgent for recognition, the convention of 1888 yielded to their appeals to the extent of declaring: "The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver." It is difficult to mildly characterize this resolution in view of the undeniable fact that silver was demonetized by the Republican Congress in 1873, and that the Democratic administration, which they condemned, was following the policy with respect to silver which had been inaugurated by the Republicans. Upon the question itself, this resolution was much more capable of a double construction than the one in the next platform,—1892,—wherein the demand for bimetallism is made contingent upon "such restrictions and under such provisions as will secure the maintenance of the parity of

value of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether silver, gold, or paper, shall at all times be equal." But the supreme test on this issue came in 1896, when the Republicans met it with as much courage and frankness as the Democrats showed in arraying themselves on the side of silver. They resolved that:

"We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved."

Whenever it has expressed any opinion on the question of internal improvements, the Republican party has advocated the constitutional power and the duty of the government to make suitable provision for improving the navigation of the rivers and the safety of the harbors. This may now be regarded as one of the dead issues, since all parties are committed to the system.

It is needless to consider the various resolutions upon other subjects which were passed by the different conventions; many of them being analogous, and none of them presenting issues upon which campaigns were conducted. Nor is it thought advisable to analyze and compare the different platforms of the various smaller political organizations. None of them has ever been entrusted with power, and it is impossible to say how their principles would stand the test of practical application. Radicalism on any subject, when irresponsible, often becomes conservative when clothed with authority, and when it may be called to account for its acts and not for its theories.

In 1896 the great mass of voters were arrayed against each other upon the economic questions; nothing else

distinguished or divided them. The tariff and the silver question were before the American people for their decision. The verdict was in favor of protection, and for the gold standard. But no one, observant of the political history of this country, can aver that the judgment pronounced was final and conclusive.

It was under a Republican administration that Alaska was purchased from Russia, and under a Republican administration the Hawaiian Islands were annexed. Under the same administration Porto Rico, the Philippines, and one of the Ladrone Islands were acquired as a result of the war with Spain. The value of these new possessions is a disputed and unsolved problem. The party in power deserves whatever of glory attaches to this extension of our domain, and it must bear whatever embarrassing responsibilities may result therefrom.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,

March 5, 1899.

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APPENDIX A

1840

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

1. *Resolved*, That the Federal Government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power shown therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. *Resolved*, That the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. *Resolved*, That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local internal improvements or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. *Resolved*, That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interest of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

5. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought

to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government.

6. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to charter a United States Bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and the will of the people.

7. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States; and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything pertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts by Abolitionists, or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanence of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions.

8. *Resolved*, That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

9. *Resolved*, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the Alien and Sedition laws from our statute book.

Whereas, Several of the States which have nominated Martin Van Buren as a candidate for the Presidency have put in nomination different individuals as candidates for Vice-President, thus indicating a diversity of opinion, as to the person

best entitled to the nomination; and, whereas, some of the said States are not represented in this convention; therefore,

Resolved, That the convention deem it expedient at the present time not to choose between the individuals in nomination, but to leave the decision to their Republican fellow-citizens in the several States, trusting that before the election shall take place their opinions will become so concentrated as to secure the choice of a Vice-President by the Electoral College.

WHIG CONVENTION

Harrisburg, Pa., December 4-7, 1839.

No platform.

LIBERTY OR ABOLITION PARTY

Resolution

Resolved, That, in our judgment, every consideration of duty and expediency which ought to control the action of Christian freemen requires of the Abolitionists of the United States to organize a distinct and independent political party, embracing all the necessary means for nominating candidates for office and sustaining them by public suffrage.

Adopted November 13, at Warsaw, New York.

1844

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

Resolutions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, of the platform of 1840, were re-affirmed, to which were added the following:

10. *Resolved*, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution, and that we are opposed to the laws lately adopted, and to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

11. *Resolved*, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interest, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has thrice saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States.

12. *Resolved*, That our title to the whole of the Territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power, and that the re-occupation of Oregon and the reannexation of Texas at the earliest practicable period, are great American measures, which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union.

WHIG PLATFORM

1. *Resolved*, That these principles may be summed as comprising a well regulated national currency; a tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country; the distribution of the proceeds from the sales of the public lands; a single term for the Presidency; a reform of Executive usurpations; and generally such an administration of the affairs of the country as shall impart to every branch of the public service the greatest practical efficiency, controlled by a well-regulated and wise economy.

LIBERTY PLATFORM

1. *Resolved*, That human brotherhood is a cardinal principle of true democracy as well as of pure Christianity, which spurns all inconsistent limitations; and neither the political party which repudiates it nor the political system which is not based upon it, can be truly democratic or permanent.

2. *Resolved*, That the Liberty party, placing itself upon this broad principle, will demand the absolute and unqualified

divorce of the General Government from slavery, and also the restoration of equality of rights among men in every State where the party exists or may exist.

3. *Resolved*, That the Liberty party has not been organized for any temporary purpose by interested politicians, but has arisen from among the people in consequence of a conviction hourly gaining ground, that no other party in the country represents the true principles of American liberty, or the true spirit of the Constitution of the United States.

4. *Resolved*, That the Liberty party has not been organized merely for the overthrow of slavery; its first decided effort must, indeed, be directed against slave-holding as the grossest and most revolting manifestation of despotism, but it will also carry out the principle of equal rights into all its practical consequences and applications, and support every just measure conducive to individual and social freedom.

5. *Resolved*, That the Liberty party is not a sectional party, but a National party; was not originated in a desire to accomplish a single object, but in a comprehensive regard to the great interests of the whole country; is not a new party, nor a third party, but is the party of 1776, reviving the principles of that memorable era, and striving to carry them into practical application.

6. *Resolved*, That it was understood in the times of the Declaration and the Constitution that the existence of slavery in some of the States was in derogation of the principles of American liberty, and a deep stain upon the character of the country, and the implied faith of the States and the Nation was pledged that slavery should never be extended beyond its then existing limits, but should be gradually, and yet, at no distant day, wholly abolished by State authority.

7. *Resolved*, That the faith of the States and the Nation thus pledged was most nobly redeemed by the voluntary abolition of slavery in several of the States, and by the adoption of the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio, then the only Territory in the United States, and consequently the only Territory subject in this respect to the control of Congress, by which ordinance slavery

was forever excluded from the vast regions which now compose the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and the Territory of Wisconsin, and an incapacity to bear up any other than freemen was impressed on the soil itself.

8. *Resolved*, that the faith of the States and the Nation thus pledged, has been shamefully violated by the omission, on the part of many of the States, to take any measures whatever for the abolition of slavery within their respective limits ; by the continuance of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories of Louisiana and Florida ; by the legislation of Congress ; by the protection afforded by National legislation and negotiating of slave-holding in American vessels, on the high seas, employed in the coastwise slave traffic ; and by the extension of slavery far beyond its original limits by acts of Congress admitting new slave States into the Union.

9. *Resolved*, That the fundamental truths of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, was made the fundamental law of our National Government by that amendment of the Constitution, which declares that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.

10. *Resolved*, That we recognize as sound the doctrine maintained by slaveholding jurists, that slavery is against natural rights, and strictly local, and that its existence and continuance rests on no other support than State Legislation, and not on any authority of Congress.

11. *Resolved*, That the General Government has, under the Constitution, no power to establish or continue slavery anywhere, and therefore that all treaties and acts of Congress establishing, continuing, or favoring slavery in the District of Columbia, in the Territory of Florida, or on the high seas, are unconstitutional, and all attempts to hold men as property within the limits of exclusive National jurisdiction ought to be prohibited by law.

12. *Resolved*, That the provisions of the Constitution of the United States which confer extraordinary political powers on the owners of slaves, and thereby constituting the two hundred

and fifty thousand slaveholders in the slave States a privileged aristocracy; and the provisions for the reclamation of fugitive slaves from service, are anti-republican in their character, dangerous to the liberties of the people, and ought to be abrogated.

13. *Resolved*, That the practical operation of the second of these provisions is seen in the enactment of the act of Congress respecting persons escaping from their masters, which act, if the construction given to it by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Prigg vs. Pennsylvania* be correct, nullifies the *habeas corpus* acts of all the States, takes away the whole legal security of personal freedom, and ought, therefore, to be immediately repealed.

14. *Resolved*, That the peculiar patronage and support hitherto extending to slavery and slaveholding by the General Government ought to be immediately withdrawn, and the example and influence of National authority ought to be arrayed on the side of liberty and free labor.

15. *Resolved*. That the practice of the General Government, which prevails in the slave States, of employing slaves upon the public works, instead of free laborers, and paying aristocratic masters, with a view to secure or reward political services, is utterly indefensible and ought to be abandoned.

16. *Resolved*, That freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of petition, and the right of trial by jury, are sacred and inviolable; and that all rules, regulations, and laws in derogation of either, are oppressive, unconstitutional, and not to be endured by a free people.

17. *Resolved*, That we regard voting, in an eminent degree, as a moral and religious duty, which, when exercised, should be by voting for those who will do all in their power for immediate emancipation.

18. *Resolved*, That this convention recommend to the friends of liberty in all those free States where any inequality of rights and privileges exists on account of color to employ their utmost energies to remove all such remnants and effects of the slave system.

Whereas, The Constitution of these United States is a series

of agreements, covenants, or contracts between the people of the United States, each with all and all with each; and,

Whereas, It is a principle of universal morality that the moral laws of the Creator are paramount to all human laws; or, in the language of an Apostle, that "we ought to obey God rather than men"; and,

Whereas, The principle of common law that any contract, covenant or agreement to do any act derogatory to natural right is vitiated and annulled by its inherent immorality has been recognized by one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, who in a recent case expressly holds that "*any contract that rests upon such a basis is void*"; and,

Whereas, The third clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States, when construed as providing for the surrender of a fugitive slave *does* "rest upon such a basis," in that it is a contract to rob a man of a natural right — namely, his natural right to his own liberties, and is, therefore, absolutely *void*; therefore,

19. *Resolved*, That we hereby give it to be distinctly understood by this nation and the world, that, as Abolitionists, considering that the strength of our cause lies in its righteousness, and our hope for it in our conformity to the laws of God and our respect for the rights of man, we owe it to the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe as a proof of our allegiance to Him, in all our civil relations and offices, whether as private citizens or public functionaries sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, to regard and treat the third clause of the fourth article of that instrument, whenever applied to the case of a fugitive slave, as utterly null and void, and consequently as forming no part of the Constitution of the United States whenever we are called upon or sworn to support it.

20. *Resolved*, That the power given to Congress by the Constitution to provide for calling out the militia to suppress insurrection does not make it the duty of the Government to maintain slavery by military force, much less does it make it the duty of the citizens to form a part of such military force; when freemen unsheathe the sword it should be to strike for liberty, not for despotism.

21. *Resolved*, That to preserve the peace of the citizens and secure the blessings of freedom, the Legislature of each of the free States ought to keep in force suitable statutes rendering it penal for any of its inhabitants to transport, or aid in transporting from such State, any person sought to be thus transported merely because subject to the slave laws of any other State; this remnant of independence being accorded to the free States by the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Prigg vs. the State of Pennsylvania*.

1848

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

1. *Resolved*, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

2. *Resolved*, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will, and contrasted with the creed and practice of federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

3. *Resolved*, Therefore, that entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through the delegates assembled in general convention of the States, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people, the declaration of principles avowed by them on a former occasion, when, in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

Resolutions 1, 2, 3 and 4, of the platform of 1840, were reaffirmed. (See Democratic Platform of 1840.)

8. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in

conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the debt created by the prosecution of a just and necessary war.

Resolution 5 of the platform of 1840 was enlarged by the following:

And that the results of Democratic Legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country have demonstrated to careful and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

Resolutions 7, 8, and 9 of the platform of 1840 were here inserted. (See Democratic platform of 1840.)

13. *Resolved*, That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national object specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

14. *Resolved*, That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

15. *Resolved*, That the war with Mexico, provoked on her part by years of insult and injury, was commenced by her army crossing the Rio Grande, attacking the American troops, and invading our sister State of Texas, and upon all the principles of patriotism and laws of Nations, it is a just and necessary war on our part, in which every American citizen should have showed himself on the side of his country, and neither morally nor physically, by word or by deed, have given "aid and comfort to the enemy."

16. *Resolved*, That we should be rejoiced at the assurance of peace with Mexico, founded on the just principles of indemnity for the past and security for the future; but that while the ratification of the liberal treaty offered to Mexico remains in doubt it is the duty of the country to sustain the administration and to sustain the country in every measure necessary to provide for the vigorous prosecution of the war, should that treaty be rejected.

17. *Resolved*, That the officers and soldiers who have carried the arms of their country into Mexico have crowned it with imperishable glory. Their unconquerable courage, their daring enterprise, their unfaltering perseverance and fortitude when assailed on all sides by innumerable foes, and that more formidable enemy—the diseases of the climate—exalt their devoted patriotism into the highest heroism, and give them a right to the profound gratitude of their country and the admiration of the world.

18. *Resolved*, That the Democratic National Convention of the thirty States composing the American Republic tender their fraternal congratulations to the National Convention of the Republic of France, now assembled as the free suffrage representative of the sovereignty of thirty-five millions of Republicans, to establish Government on those eternal principles of equal rights for which their Lafayette and our Washington fought side by side in the struggle for our National Independence; and we would especially convey to them, and to the whole people of France, our earnest wishes for the consolidation of their liberties, through the wisdom that shall guide their councils on the basis of a Democratic constitution not derived from grants or concessions of kings or dynasties, but originating from the only true source of political power recognized in the States of this Union—the inherent and inalienable right of the people, in their sovereign capacity, to make and to amend their forms of Government in such manner as the welfare of the community may require.

19. *Resolved*, That in view of the recent developments of this grand political truth, of the sovereignty of the people and their capacity and power for self-government, which is

prostrating thrones and erecting republics on the ruins of despotism in the old world, we feel that a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the people, to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, equality and fraternity, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

20. *Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded, through the American Minister at Paris, to the National Convention of the Republic of France.

21. *Resolved*, That the fruits of the great political triumph of 1844, which elected James K. Polk and George M. Dallas President and Vice-President of the United States, have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union in defeating the declared purposes of their opponents in creating a National Bank; in preventing the corrupt and unconstitutional distribution of the land proceeds from the common treasury of the Union for local purposes; in protecting the currency and labor of the country from ruinous fluctuations, and guarding the money of the country for the use of the people by the establishment of the constitutional treasury; in the noble impulse given to the cause of free-trade by the repeal of the tariff of '42, and the creation of the more equal, honest and productive tariff of 1846; and that, in our opinion, would be a fatal error to weaken the bands of political organization by which these great reforms have been achieved, and risk them in the hands of their own adversaries, with whatever delusive appeals they may solicit our surrender of that vigilance which is the only safeguard of liberty.

22. *Resolved*, That the confidence of the Democracy of the Union in the principles, capacity, firmness and integrity of James K. Polk, manifested by his nomination and election of

1844, has been signally justified by the strictness of his adherence to sound Democratic doctrines, by the purity of purpose, the energy and ability which have characterized his administration in all our affairs at home and abroad; that we tender to him our cordial congratulations upon the brilliant success which has hitherto crowned his patriotic efforts, and assure him that at the expiration of his Presidential term he will carry with him to his retirement the esteem, respect and admiration of a grateful country.

Resolved, That this convention hereby present to the people of the United States, Lewis Cass, of Michigan, as the candidate of the Democratic party for the office of President, and William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for Vice-President of the United States.

WHIG PLATFORM

1. *Resolved*, That the Whigs of the United States, here assembled by their representatives, heartily ratify the nominations of General Zachary Taylor, as President, and Millard Fillmore, as Vice-President of the United States, and pledge themselves to their support.

2. *Resolved*, That in the choice of General Taylor as the Whig candidate for President we are glad to discover sympathy with a great popular sentiment throughout the Nation—a sentiment which, having its origin in admiration of great military success, has been strengthened by the development, in every action and every word, of sound conservative opinions, and of true fidelity to the great example of former days and to the principles of the Constitution as administered by its founders.

3. *Resolved*, That General Taylor, in saying that, had he voted in 1844 he would have voted the Whig ticket, gives us the assurance—and no better is needed from a consistent and truth-speaking man—that his heart was with us at the crisis of our political destiny when Henry Clay was our candidate, and when not only Whig principles were well defined and clearly asserted, but Whig measures depended upon success. The heart that was with us then is with us now, and, we have a

soldier's word of honor, and a life of public and private virtue as the security.

4. *Resolved*, That we look on General Taylor's administration of the Government as one conducive of peace, prosperity, and union; of peace, because no one better knows, or has greater reason to deplore, what he has seen sadly on the field of victory, the horrors of war, and especially of a foreign and aggressive war; of prosperity, now more than ever needed to relieve the Nation from a burden of debt and restore industry—agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial—to its accustomed and peaceful functions and influences; of union, because we have a candidate whose very position as a Southwestern man, reared on the banks of the great stream whose tributaries, natural and artificial, embrace the whole Union, renders the protection of the interests of the whole country his first trust, and whose various duties in past life have been rendered not on the soil, or under the flag, of any State or section, but over the wide frontier and under the broad banner of the Nation.

5. *Resolved*, That standing, as the Whig party does, on the broad and firm platform of the Constitution, braced up by all its inviolable and sacred guarantees and compromises, and cherished in the affections, because protective of the interests of the people, we are proud to have as the exponent of our opinions one who is pledged to construe it by the wise and generous rules which Washington applied to it, and who has said—and no Whig desires any other assurance—that he will make Washington's administration his model.

6. *Resolved*, That as Whigs and Americans we are proud to acknowledge our gratitude for the great military services which, beginning at Palo Alto and ending at Buena Vista, first awakened the American people to a just estimate of him who is now our Whig candidate. In the discharge of a painful duty—for his march into the enemy's country was a reluctant one; in the command of regulars at one time, and volunteers at another, and of both combined; in the decisive though punctual discipline of his camp, where all respected and loved him; in the negotiations of terms for a dejected and desperate enemy; in the exigency of actual conflict, when the

balance was perilously doubtful—we have found him the same—brave, distinguished, and considerate; no heartless spectator of bloodshed, no trifler with human life or human happiness; and we do not know which to admire most, his heroism in withstanding the assaults of the enemy in the most hopeless fields of Buena Vista—mourning in generous sorrow over the graves of Ringgold, of Clay, of Hardin—or in giving, in the heat of battle, terms of merciful capitulation to a vanquished foe at Monterey, and not being ashamed to avow that he did it to spare women and children, helpless infancy and more helpless age, against whom no American soldier ever wars. Such a military man, whose triumphs are neither remote nor doubtful, whose virtues these trials have tested, we are proud to make our candidate.

7. *Resolved*, That in support of this nomination we ask our Whig friends throughout the Nation to unite, to co-operate zealously resolutely, with earnestness, in behalf of our candidate, whom calumny cannot reach, and with respectful demeanor to our adversaries, whose candidates have yet to prove their claims on the gratitude of the Nation.

FREE-SOIL PLATFORM

WHEREAS, We have assembled in convention as a union of free men, for the sake of freedom, forgetting all past political difference in a common resolve to maintain the rights of free labor against the aggression of the slave power, and to secure free soil to a free people; and

WHEREAS, The political conventions recently assembled at Baltimore and Philadelphia—the one stifling the voice of a great constituency entitled to be heard in its deliberations, and the other abandoning its distinctive principles for mere availability—have dissolved the National party organization heretofore existing, by nominating for the Chief Magistracy of the United States, under the slave-holding dictation, candidates, neither of whom can be supported by the opponents of slavery extension without a sacrifice of consistency, duty, and self-respect; and

WHEREAS, These nominations so made furnish the occasion and demonstrate the necessity of the union of the people under the banner of Free Democracy in a solemn and formal, declaration of their independence of the slave power, and of their fixed determination to rescue the Federal Government from its control,

1. *Resolved*, Therefore, that we, the people here assembled, remembering the example of our fathers in the days of the first Declaration of Independence, putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavors to advance it, do now plant ourselves upon the National platform of freedom, in opposition to the sectional platform of slavery.

2. *Resolved*, That slavery in the several States of this Union which recognize its existence depends upon the State laws alone, which cannot be repealed or modified by the Federal Government, and for which laws that Government is not responsible. We therefore propose no interference by Congress with slavery within the limits of any State.

3. *Resolved*, That the proviso of Jefferson, to prohibit the existence of slavery after 1800 in all the Territories of the United States, southern and northern; the votes of six States and sixteen delegates in Congress of 1784 for the proviso, to three States and seven delegates against it; the actual exclusion of slavery from the northwestern Territory, by the Ordinance of 1787, unanimously adopted by the States in Congress, and the entire history of that period clearly show that it was the settled policy of the Nation not to extend, nationalize, or encourage, but to limit, localize and discourage, slavery; and to this policy, which should never have been departed from, the Government ought to return.

4. *Resolved*, That our fathers ordained the Constitution of the United States in order, among other great National objects, to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty; but expressly deny to the Federal Government, which they created, a constitutional power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due legal process.

5. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of this convention Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king; no more power to institute or establish slavery than to institute or establish a monarchy; no such power can be found among those specifically conferred by the Constitution or derived by just implication from them.

6. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery wherever the Government possesses constitutional power to legislate on that subject, and it is thus responsible for its existence.

7. *Resolved*, That the true, and, in the judgment of this convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free is to prohibit its extension in all such territory by an act of Congress.

8. *Resolved*, That we accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us; and to their demand for more slave States and more slave territory, our calm but final answer is: No more slave States and no more slave territory. Let the soil of our extensive domain be kept free for the hardy pioneers of our own land and the oppressed and banished of other lands seeking homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the new world.

9. *Resolved*, That the bill lately reported by the committee of eight in the Senate of the United States was no compromise, but an absolute surrender of the rights of the non-slave holders of the States; and while we rejoice to know that a measure which, while opening the door for the introduction of slavery into the territories now free, would also have opened the door to litigation and strife among the future inhabitants thereof, to the ruin of their peace and prosperity, was defeated in the House of Representatives, its passage in hot haste by a majority, embracing several Senators who voted in open violation of the known will of their constituents, should warn the people to see to it that their representatives be not suffered to betray them. There must be no more compromises with slavery; if made, they must be repealed.

10. *Resolved*, That we demand freedom and established institutions for our brethren in Oregon now exposed to hardships,

peril, and massacre, by the reckless hostility of the slave power to the establishment of Free Government and Free Territories; and not only for them but for our brethren in California and New Mexico.

11. *Resolved*, It is due not only to this occasion, but to the whole people of the United States, that we should also declare ourselves on certain other questions of National policy; therefore,

12. *Resolved*, That we demand cheap postage for the people; a retrenchment of the expenses and patronage of the Federal Government; the abolition of all unnecessary offices and salaries; and the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the Government so far as the same may be practicable.

13. *Resolved*, That river and harbor improvements, when demanded by the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations, or among the several States, are objects of National concern, and that it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional power, to provide therefor.

14. *Resolved*, That the free grant to actual settlers, in consideration of the expenses they incur in making settlements in the wilderness, which are usually fully equal to their actual cost, and of the public benefits resulting therefrom, of reasonable portions of the public lands under suitable limitations, is a wise and just measure of public policy, which will promote, in various ways, the interest of all the States of this Union; and we, therefore, recommend it to the favorable consideration of the American people.

15. *Resolved*, That the obligations of honor and patriotism require the earliest practical payment of the National debt, and we are, therefore, in favor of such a tariff of duties as will raise revenue adequate to defray the expenses of the Federal Government and to pay annual instalments of our debt and the interest thereon.

16. *Resolved*, That we inscribe on our banner, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men," and under it we will fight on, and fight forever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

1853

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

Resolutions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, of the platform of 1848 (see Democratic platform of 1848), were reaffirmed, to which were added the following:

8. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every branch of Government to enforce and practise the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

9. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to charter a National Bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our Republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and that above the laws and will of the people; and that the results of Democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

10. *Resolved*, That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

11. *Resolved*, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence and sanctioned in the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of the soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit that swept the Alien and Sedition laws from our statute books.

12. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions

of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

13. *Resolved*, That the foregoing proposition covers, and is intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and, therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this National platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise measures settled by last Congress—"the Act for reclaiming fugitives from service labor" included; which Act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed nor so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

14. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

(Here resolutions 13 and 14 of the platform of 1848 were inserted.)

17. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1792 and 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

18. *Resolved*, That the war with Mexico, upon all the principles of patriotism and the law of nations, was a just and necessary war on our part, in which no American citizen should have shown himself opposed to his country, and neither

morally nor physically, by word or deed, given aid and comfort to the enemy.

19. *Resolved*, That we rejoice at the restoration of friendly relations with our sister Republic of Mexico, and earnestly desire for her all the blessings and the prosperity which we enjoy under Republican institutions, and we congratulate the American people on the results of that war, which have so manifestly justified the policy and conduct of the Democratic party and insured to the United States indemnity for the past and security for the future.

20. *Resolved*, That, in view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World, a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democracy of this country, as the party of the people, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the union of States, and to sustain and advance among them constitutional liberty by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it is, and the Union as it should be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

WHIG PLATFORM

The Whigs of the United States, in convention assembled, adhering to the great conservative principles by which they are controlled and governed, and now as ever relying upon the intelligence of the American people, with an abiding confidence in their capacity for self-government and their devotion to the Constitution and the Union, do proclaim the following as the political sentiments and determination for the establishment and maintenance of which their National organization as a party was effected:

First. The Government of the United States is of a limited character, and is confined to the exercise of powers expressly granted by the Constitution, and such as may be necessary and proper for carrying the granted powers into full execution,

and that powers not granted or necessarily implied are reserved to the States respectively and to the people.

Second. The State Governments should be held secure to their reserved rights, and the General Government sustained in its constitutional powers, and that the Union should be revered and watched over as the palladium of our liberties.

Third. That while struggling freedom everywhere enlists the warmest sympathy of the Whig party we still adhere to the doctrines of the Father of his Country, as announced in his Farewell Address, of keeping ourselves free from all entangling alliances with foreign countries, and never quitting our own to stand upon foreign grounds; that our mission as a Republic is not to propagate our opinions, or impose upon other countries our forms of government by artifice or force, but to teach by example, and show by our success, moderation, and justice, the blessings of self-government and the advantages of free institutions.

Fourth. That as the people make and control the Government, they should obey its Constitution, laws and treaties as they would retain their self-respect and the respect which they claim and will enforce from foreign powers.

Fifth. Governments should be conducted on the principles of the strictest economy, and revenue sufficient for the expenses thereof in time of peace ought to be derived mainly from a duty on imports, and not from direct taxes; and in laying such duties sound policy requires a just discrimination, and, when practicable, by specific duties whereby suitable encouragement may be afforded to American industry equal to all classes and to all portions of the country.

Sixth. The Constitution vests in Congress the power to open and repair harbors and remove obstructions from navigable rivers whenever such improvements are necessary for the common defence and for the protection and facility of commerce with foreign nations or among the States, said improvements being in every instance National and general in their character.

Seventh. The Federal and State Governments are parts of one system, alike necessary for the common prosperity, peace, and security, and ought to be regarded alike with a cordial,

habitual, and immovable attachment. Respect for the authority of each, and acquiescence in the just constitutional measures of each, are duties required by the plainest considerations of National, State, and individual welfare.

Eighth. That the series of Acts of the Thirty-second Congress, the act known as the Fugitive Slave Law included, are received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States as a settlement in principle and substance of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace, and so far as they are concerned we will maintain them and insist upon their strict enforcement until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity for further legislation to guard against the evasion of the laws on the one hand and the abuse of their powers on the other, not impairing their present efficiency; and we deprecate all further agitation of the question thus settled as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation whenever, wherever, or however the attempt may be made; and we will maintain the system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party and the integrity of the Union.

FREE-SOIL PLATFORM

Having assembled in National Convention as the Free Democracy of the United States, united by a common resolve to maintain right against wrong, and freedom against slavery; confiding in the intelligence, patriotism, and discriminating justice of the American people; putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavors to advance it, we now submit to the candid judgment of all men the following declaration of principles and measures:

First. That Governments deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed are instituted among men to secure to all those inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness with which they are endowed by their Creator, and of which none can be deprived by valid legislation, except for crime.

Second. That the true mission of American Democracy is

to maintain the liberties of the people, the sovereignty of the States, and the perpetuity of the Union, by the impartial application to public affairs, without sectional discrimination, of the fundamental principles of human rights, strict justice, and an economical administration.

Third. That the Federal Government is one of limited power derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of powers therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government, and it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

Fourth. That the Constitution of the United States, ordained to form a more perfect Union, to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty, expressly denies to the General Government all power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; and; therefore the Government having no more power to make a slave than to make a king, and no more power to establish slavery than to establish a monarchy, should at once proceed to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence of slavery wherever it possesses constitutional power to legislate for its extinction.

Fifth. That to the persevering and importunate demands of the slave power for more slave States, new slave Territories, and the nationalization of slavery, our distinct and final answer is—no more slave States, no slave Territory, no nationalized slavery, and no National legislation for the extradition of slaves.

Sixth. That slavery is a sin against God and a crime against man which no human enactment nor usage can make right; and that Christianity, humanity and patriotism alike demand its abolition.

Seventh. That the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 is repugnant to the Constitution, to the principles of the common law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilized world; we, therefore, deny its binding force on the American people, and demand its immediate and total repeal.

Eighth. That the doctrine that any human law is a finality, and not subject to modification or repeal, is not in accordance with the creed of the founders of our Government, and is dangerous to the liberties of the people.

Ninth. That the Acts of Congress known as the Compromise measures of 1850, by making the admission of a sovereign State contingent upon the adoption of other measures demanded by the special interests of slavery; by their omission to guarantee freedom in the free Territories; by their attempt to impose unconstitutional limitations on the powers of Congress and the people to admit new States; by their provisions for the assumption of five millions of the State debt of Texas, and for the payment of five millions more, and the cession of large territory to the same State under menace, as an inducement to their relinquishment of a groundless claim; and by their invasion of the sovereignty of the States and the liberties of the people, through the enactment of an unjust, oppressive, and unconstitutional fugitive slave law, are proved to be inconsistent with all the principles and maxims of Democracy, and wholly inadequate to the settlement of the questions of which they are claimed to be an adjustment.

Tenth. That no permanent settlement of the slavery question can be looked for except in the practical recognition of the truth that slavery is sectional and freedom National; by the total separation of the General Government from slavery, and the exercise of its legitimate and constitutional influence on the side of freedom; and by leaving to the States the whole subject of slavery and the extradition of fugitives from service.

Eleventh. That all men have a natural right to a portion of the soil; and that as the use of the soil is indispensable to life, the right of all men to the soil is as sacred as their right to life itself.

Twelfth. That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals, nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers.

Thirteenth. That due regard for the Federal Constitution, a sound administrative policy, demand that the funds of the General Government be kept separate from banking institutions; that inland and ocean postage should be reduced to the lowest possible point; that no more revenue should be raised

tion is required to defray the strictly necessary expenses of the public service and to pay off the public debt; and that the power and patronage of the Government should be diminished by the abolition of all unnecessary offices, salaries, and privileges, and by the election of the people of all civil officers in the service of the United States, so far as may be consistent with the prompt and efficient transaction of the public business.

Fourteenth. That river and harbor improvements, when necessary to the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations, or among the several nations, are objects of National concern, and it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional powers, to provide for the same.

Fifteenth. That emigrants and exiles from the Old World should find a cordial welcome to homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the New; and every attempt to abridge their privilege of becoming citizens and owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with inflexible determination.

Sixteenth. That every nation has a clear right to alter or change its own Government, and to administer its own concerns in such manner as may best secure the rights and promote the happiness of the people; and foreign interference with that right is a dangerous violation of the law of nations, against which all independent Governments should protest, and endeavor by all proper means to prevent; and especially is it the duty of the American Government, representing the chief Republic of the world, to protest against, and by all proper means to prevent, the intervention of kings and emperors against nations seeking to establish for themselves Republican or constitutional governments.

Seventeenth. That the independence of Hayti ought to be recognized by our Government, and our commercial relations with it placed on the footing of the most favored nations.

Eighteenth. That, as by the Constitution, "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States," the practice of imprisoning colored seamen of other States while the vessels to which they belong lie in port, and refusing the exercise of the right

to bring such cases before the Supreme Court of the United States, to test the legality of such proceedings; is a flagrant violation of the Constitution, and an invasion of the rights of the citizens of other States, utterly inconsistent with the professions made by the slave-holders that they wish the provisions of the Constitution faithfully observed by every State in the Union.

Nineteenth. That we recommend the introduction into all treaties hereafter to be negotiated between the United States and foreign nations of some provision for the amicable settlement of difficulties by a resort to decisive arbitration.

Twentieth. That the Free Democratic party is not organized to aid either the Whig or Democratic wing of the great slave compromise party of the nation, but to defeat them both; and that, repudiating and renouncing both as hopelessly corrupt and utterly unworthy of confidence, the purpose of the Free Democracy is to take possession of the Federal Government and administer it for the better protection of the rights and interests of the whole people.

Twenty-first. That we inscribe on our banner Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men, and under it will fight on, and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

Twenty-second. That upon this platform the convention presents to the American people, as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and as a candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States, George W. Julian, of Indiana, and earnestly commends them to the support of all free men and all parties.

1856

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

1. *Resolved,* That we regard this as a distinctive feature of

our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

3. *Resolved, therefore,* That, entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through their delegates assembled in a general convention of the States, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative Government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and reassert before the American people the declarations of principles avowed by them when, on former occasions, in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrage:

1. That the Federal Government is one of limited power, derived solely from the Constitution; and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government; and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. That the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local and internal improvements, or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of any other, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practise the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

6. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the National objects specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

7. That Congress has no power to charter a National Bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our Republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of Democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties, their soundness, safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

8. That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

9. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

10. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of

the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith, and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the Alien and Sedition laws from our statute books; and,

Whereas, Since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors in National conventions, an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively American, it is proper that the American Democracy should clearly define its relation thereto, and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called.

Resolved, That the foundation of this Union of States having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion, and pre-eminent example in free government, built upon entire freedom in matters of religious concernment and no respect of person in regard to rank or place of birth, no party can justly be deemed National, constitutional, or in accordance with American principles, which bases its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birthplace. And hence a political alliance in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholic and foreign-born, is neither justified by the past history nor the future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlarged freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

Resolved, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose, the well-considered declarations of former conventions upon the sectional issue of domestic slavery and concerning the reserved rights of the States.

1. That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists, or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and

that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

2. That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this National platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the Acts known as the Compromise measures, settled by the Congress of 1850; "the Act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor," included; which Act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

3. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

4. That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the people, North and South, to the Constitution and the Union—

1. *Resolved*, That claiming fellowship with and desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the paramount issue—and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery, which seek to embroil the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories, and whose avowed purposes, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion—the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the

Territories of Kansas and Nebraska as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the "slavery question" upon which the great National idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservatism of the Union—**NON-INTERFERENCE BY CONGRESS WITH SLAVERY IN STATE AND TERRITORY, OR IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.**

2. That was the basis of the Compromises of 1850—confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in National conventions—ratified by the people in the election of 1852—and rightly applied to the organization of Territories in 1854.

3. That by the uniform application of this Democratic principle to the organization of Territories and to the administration of new States, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect—the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact—the original compacts of the Constitution maintained inviolate—and the perpetuity and expansion of this Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American State that may be constituted or annexed, with a Republican form of government.

Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

Resolved, finally, That in view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World (and the dangerous tendencies of sectional agitation, combined with the attempt to enforce civil and religious disabilities against the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship in our own land)—a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the Union, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the Union of the States; and to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence

to those principles and compromises of the Constitution which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

1. *Resolved*, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country which are inferior to no domestic question whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world, and, by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

2. *Resolved*, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other States of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold as sacred the principles involved in the Monroe Doctrine; their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction; they should be applied with unbending rigidity.

3. *Resolved*, That the great highway which nature, as well as the assent of the States most immediately interested in its maintenance, has marked out for a free communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times and the unconquerable energy of our people. That result should be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it, and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with the relations it may suit our policy to establish between our Government and the Governments of the States within whose dominions it lies. We can, under no circumstance, surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

4. *Resolved*, That, in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States cannot but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the Interoceanic Isthmus.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will expect of the next Administration that every proper effort be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain a permanent protection to the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our Western valleys and the Union at large.

Resolved, That the Democratic party recognizes the great importance, in a political and commercial point of view, of a safe and speedy communication, by military and postal roads, through our own territory, between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of this Union, and that it is the duty of the Federal Government to exercise promptly all its constitutional power for the attainment of that object.

Resolved, That the administration of Franklin Pierce has been true to the great interests of the country. In the face of the most determined opposition it has maintained the laws, enforced economy, fostered progress, and infused integrity and vigor into every department of the Government at home. It has signally improved our treaty relations, extended the field of commercial enterprise, and vindicated the rights of American citizens abroad. It has asserted with eminent impartiality the just claims of every section, and has at all times been faithful to the Constitution. We therefore proclaim our unqualified approbation of its measures and its policy.

WHIG PLATFORM

Resolved, That the Whigs of the United States, now here assembled, hereby declare their reverence for the Constitution of the United States, their unalterable attachment to the National Union and a fixed determination to do all in their power to preserve them for themselves and their posterity. They have no new principles to announce; no new platform to establish; but are content to broadly rest — where their fathers rested — upon the Constitution of the United States, wishing no safer guide, no higher law.

Resolved, That we regard with the deepest interest and

anxiety the present disordered condition of our National affairs—a portion of the country ravid by civil war, large sections of our population embittered by mutual recriminations; and we distinctly trace these calamities to the culpable neglect of duty by the present National administration.

Resolved, That the Government of the United States was formed by the conjunction in political unity of widespread geographical sections, materially differing, not only in climate and products, but in social and domestic institutions; and that any cause that shall permanently array the different sections of the Union in political hostility, and organize parties founded only on geographical distinctions, must inevitably prove fatal to a continuance of the National Union.

Resolved, That the Whigs of the United States declare, as a fundamental article of political faith, an absolute necessity for avoiding geographical parties. The danger, so clearly discerned by the Father of his Country, has now become fearfully apparent in the agitation now convulsing the nation, and must be arrested at once if we would preserve our Constitution and our Union from dismemberment and the name of America from being blotted out from the family of civilized nations.

Resolved, That all who revere the Constitution and the Union must look with alarm at the parties in the field in the present Presidential campaign—one claiming only to represent sixteen northern States, and the other appealing mainly to the passions and prejudices of the southern States; that the success of either faction must add fuel to the flame which now threatens to wrap our dearest interests in a common ruin.

Resolved, That the only remedy for an evil so appalling is to support a candidate pledged to neither of the geographical sections nor arrayed in political antagonism, but holding both in a just and equal regard. We congratulate the friends of the Union that such a candidate exists in Millard Fillmore.

Resolved, That, without adopting or referring to the peculiar doctrines of the party which has already selected Mr. Fillmore as a candidate, we look to him as a well-trying and faithful friend of the Constitution and the Union, eminent alike for his wisdom and firmness—for his justice and moderation in

our foreign relations — calm and pacific temperament, so well becoming the head of a great nation — for his devotion to the Constitution in its true spirit—his inflexibility in executing the laws; but, beyond all these attributes, in possessing the one transcendent merit of being a representative of neither of the two sectional parties now struggling for political supremacy.

Resolved, That in the present exigency of political affairs we are not called upon to discuss the subordinate questions of administration in the exercising of the constitutional powers of the Government. It is enough to know that civil war is raging, and that the Union is in peril; and we proclaim the conviction that the restoration of Mr. Fillmore to the Presidency will furnish the best, if not the only, means of restoring peace.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

This convention of delegates assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory, in favor of admitting Kansas as a free State, of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do resolve as follows:

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, shall be preserved.

Resolved, That, with our Republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that, as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our National territory,

ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in the United States by positive legislation prohibiting its existence or extension therein; that we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government; and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery.

Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," and contains ample provision for the protection of life, liberty and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose

their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either *before* or *after* the fact, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union with her present free Constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, The highwayman's plea that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any Government or people that gave it their sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean by the most central and practicable route is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and, as an auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a National character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of freemen of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and, believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the

Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security.

AMERICAN (KNOW-NOTHING) PLATFORM

1. An humble acknowledgment to the Supreme Being for His protecting care vouchsafed to our fathers in their successful Revolutionary struggle, and hitherto manifested to us, their descendants, in the preservation of the liberties, the independence, and the Union of these States.

2. The perpetuation of the Federal Union and Constitution as the palladium of our civil and religious liberties, and the only sure bulwarks of American independence.

3. Americans must rule America; and to this end native-born citizens should be selected for all State, Federal, and municipal Government employment, in preference to all others. Nevertheless,

4. Persons born of American parents residing temporarily abroad should be entitled to all the rights of native-born citizens.

5. No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth) who recognizes any allegiance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate, or power, or who refuses to recognize the Federal and State constitutions (each within its own sphere) as paramount to all other laws as rules of political action.

6. The unequalled recognition and maintenance of the reserved rights of the several States, and the cultivation of harmony and fraternal good will between the citizens of the several States; and to this end, non-interference by Congress with questions appertaining solely to the individual States, and non-intervention by each State with the affairs of any other State.

7. The recognition of the right of native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States permanently residing in any Territory thereof to frame their Constitution and laws, and to regulate their domestic and social affairs in their own mode,

subject only to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, with the privilege of admission into the Union whenever they have the requisite population for one Representative in Congress.

Provided, That none but those who are citizens of the United States under the Constitution and laws thereof, and who have a fixed residence in any such Territory, are to participate in the formation of the Constitution or in the enactment of laws for said Territory or State.

8. An enforcement of the principles that no State or Territory ought to admit others than citizens to the right of suffrage or of holding political offices of the United States:

9. A change in the laws of naturalization, making a continued residence of twenty-one years, of all not heretofore provided for, an indispensable requisite for citizenship hereafter, and excluding all paupers or persons convicted of crime from landing upon our shores; but no interference with the vested rights of foreigners.

10. Opposition to any union between Church and State; no interference with religious faith or worship; and no test oaths for office.

11. Free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public functionaries and a strict economy in public expenditures.

12. The maintenance and enforcement of all laws constitutionally enacted until said laws shall be repealed or shall be declared null and void by competent judiciary authority.

13. Opposition to the reckless and unwise policy of the present administration in the general management of our National affairs, and more especially as shown in removing "Americans" (by designation) and conservatives in principle, from office, and placing foreigners and ultraists in their places; as shown in truckling subserviency to the stronger and an insolent and cowardly bravado toward the weaker powers; as shown in re-opening sectional agitation, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; as shown in the granting to unnaturalized foreigners the right of suffrage in Kansas and Nebraska; as shown in its vacillating course on the Kansas and Nebraska

question; as shown in the corruptions which pervade some of the departments of the Government; as shown in disgracing meritorious naval officers through prejudiced caprice; and as shown in the blundering mismanagement of our foreign relations.

14. Therefore, to remedy existing evils, and prevent the disastrous consequences otherwise resulting therefrom, we would build up the "American Party" upon the principles hereinbefore stated.

15. That each State council shall have authority to amend their several constitutions, so as to abolish the several degrees and substitute a pledge of honor, instead of other obligations, for fellowship and admission into the party.

16. A free and open discussion of all political principles embraced in our platform.

1860

DOUGLAS DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

1. *Resolved*, That we, the Democracy of the Union, in convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic Convention in Cincinnati in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied to the same subject-matters, and we recommend, as the only further resolutions, the following: Inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress, under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the Territories,

2. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law.

3. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign.

4. *Resolved*, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States; and the Democratic party pledge such constitutional Government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practicable period.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the Island of Cuba on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

6. *Resolved*, That the enactments of State legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive-Slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

7. *Resolved*, That it is in accordance with the true interpretation of the Cincinnati platform that, during the existence of the Territorial governments the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the Territorial legislature over the subject of the domestic relations, as the same has been, or shall hereafter be, finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, should be respected by all good citizens and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the General Government.

The Democratic Convention met in Charleston, S. C., April 23, 1860. The convention, after fifty-seven ballots, adjourned without nominating candidates.

(BRECKINRIDGE) DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

Resolved, That the platform adopted by the Democratic party at Cincinnati be affirmed, with the following explanatory resolutions:

1. That the government of a Territory organized by an Act of Congress is provisional and temporary, and during its existence all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in the Territory, without their rights, either of person or property, being destroyed or impaired by Congressional or Territorial legislation.

2. That it is the duty of the Federal Government, in all its departments, to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the Territories, and wherever else its constitutional authority extends.

3. That when the settlers in a Territory, having an adequate population, form a State Constitution, the right of sovereignty commences, and, being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other States; and the State thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its Constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.

4. That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the Island of Cuba on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain, at the earliest practicable moment.

5. That the enactments of the State legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the Fugitive-Slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

6. The Democracy of the United States recognize it as the imperative duty of this Government to protect the naturalized citizen in all his rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native-born citizens.

WHEREAS, One of the greatest necessities of the age, in a political, commercial, postal, and military point of view, is a speedy communication between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts; therefor, be it

Resolved, That the National Democratic party do hereby pledge themselves to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some bill, to the extent of the constitutional authority of Congress, for the construction of a Pacific Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, at the earliest practicable moment.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members, without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relations between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal courts of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans, while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma, that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our Republican fathers when they had abolished slavery in all our National territory ordained that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave

trade, under the cover of our National flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their Federal Governors, of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should of right be immediately admitted as a State under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people and accepted by the House of Representatives.

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of National exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a National character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized

by the Constitution and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PLATFORM

WHEREAS, Experience has demonstrated that platforms adopted by the partisan conventions of the country have had the effect to mislead and deceive the people, and at the same time to widen the political divisions of the country, by the creation and encouragement of geographical and sectional parties; therefore,

Resolved, That it is both the part of patriotism and of duty to recognize no political principles other than THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNTRY, THE UNION OF THE STATES, AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAWS; and that as representatives of the Constitutional Union men of the country, in National Convention assembled, we hereby pledge ourselves to maintain, protect, and defend, separately and unitedly, these great principles of public liberty and National safety against all enemies at home and abroad; believing that thereby peace may once more be restored to the country; the rights of the people and of the States re-established, and the Government again placed in that condition of justice, fraternity, and equality which, under the example and Constitution of our fathers, has solemnly bound every citizen of the United States to maintain a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

1864

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

Resolved, That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution as the only solid foundation of our strength, security, and happiness as a people, and as a framework of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the States, both Northern and Southern.

Resolved, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretence of a military necessity or war-power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to the ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.

Resolved, That the direct interference of the military authorities of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware was a shameful violation of the Constitution, and a repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary and resisted with all the means and power under our control.

Resolved, That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired, and they hereby declare that they consider that the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution—the subversion of the civil by military law in States not in insurrection; the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial, and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force; the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press; the denial

of the right of asylum; the open and avowed disregard of State rights; the employment of unusual test oaths; and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defence is calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a Government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

Resolved, That the shameful disregard of the administration to its duty in respect to our fellow-citizens who now are and long have been prisoners of war in a suffering condition deserves the severest reprobation on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.

Resolved, That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiers of our Army and sailors of our Navy, who are and have been in the field and on the sea under the flag of our country, and, in the event of its attaining power, they will receive all the care, protection, and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the Republic have so nobly earned.

REPUBLICAN (REGULAR) PLATFORM

1. *Resolved*, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinions, we pledge ourselves as Union men, animated by a common sentiment, and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

2. *Resolved*, That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position and to prosecute the war with the

utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to the country and its free institutions.

3. *Resolved*, That as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of Republican government, justice and the National safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic; and that while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defence, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor furthermore of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

4. *Resolved*, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the Army and Navy who have perilled their lives in defence of the country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defence shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

5. *Resolved*, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and the unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and indorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the provisions of the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve especially the proclamation of emancipation and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and

that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.

6. *Resolved*, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the National councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially indorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the Government.

7. *Resolved*, That the Government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war; and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war by the rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.

8. *Resolved*, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources, and increase of power to the nation—the asylum of the oppressed of all nations—should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

9. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific Coast.

10. *Resolved*, That the National faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the National currency.

11. *Resolved*, That we approve the position taken by the Government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any Republican government on the western continent; and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

REPUBLICAN (RADICAL) PLATFORM

1. That the Federal Union shall be preserved.
2. That the Constitution and laws of the United States must be observed and obeyed.
3. That the rebellion must be suppressed by force of arms and without compromise.
4. That the rights of free speech, free press, and *habeas corpus* be held inviolate, save in districts where martial law has been proclaimed.
5. That the rebellion has destroyed slavery; and the Federal Constitution should be so amended as to prohibit its re-establishment, and to secure to all men absolute equality before the law.
6. That integrity and economy are demanded at all times in the administration of the Government, and that in time of war the want of them is criminal.
7. That the right of asylum, except for crime and subject to law, is a recognized principle of American liberty; and that any violation of it cannot be overlooked, and must not go unrebuked.
8. That the National policy known as the "Monroe Doctrine" has become a recognized principle; and that the establishment of any anti-republican government on this continent by any foreign power cannot be tolerated.
9. That the gratitude and support of the nation are due to the faithful soldiers and the earnest leaders of the Union Army and Navy for their heroic achievements and deathless valor in defence of our imperilled country and civil liberty.
10. That the one-term policy for the Presidency adopted by the people is strengthened by the force of the existing crisis, and should be maintained by constitutional amendment.
11. That the Constitution should be so amended that the President and Vice-President shall be elected by a direct vote of the people.
12. That the question of the reconstruction of the rebellious States belongs to the people, through their Representatives in Congress, and not to the Executive.

13. That the confiscation of the lands of the rebels and their distribution among the soldiers and actual settlers is a measure of justice.

1868

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

The Democratic party, in National Convention assembled, reposing its trust in the intelligence, patriotism, and discriminating justice of the people, standing upon the Constitution as the foundation and limitation of the powers of the Government, and the guarantee of the liberties of the citizen, and recognizing the questions of slavery and secession as having been settled for all time to come by the war, or the voluntary action of the Southern States in constitutional conventions assembled, and never to be renewed or reagitated, do, with the return of peace, demand:

1. Immediate restoration of all the States to their rights in the Union under the Constitution, and of civil government to the American people.

2. Amnesty for all past political offences, and the regulation of the elective franchise in the States by their citizens.

3. Payment of the public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable; all moneys drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for the necessities of the Government, economically administered, being honestly applied to such payment, and where the obligations of the Government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and in justice, to be paid in the lawful money of the United States.

4. Equal taxation of every species of property according to its real value, including Government bonds and other public securities.

5. One currency for the Government and the people, the laborer and the office-holder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder.

6. Economy in the administration of the Government; the reduction of the standing Army and Navy; the abolition of the Freedmen's Bureau, and all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy; simplification of the system, and discontinuance of inquisitorial modes of assessing and collecting internal revenue, so that the burden of taxation may be equalized and lessened; the credit of the Government and the currency made good; the repeal of all enactments for enrolling the State militia into National forces in time of peace; and a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation under the Internal Revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon and best promote and encourage the great industrial interests of the country.

7. Reform of abuses in the administration, the expulsion of corrupt men from office, the abrogation of useless offices, the restoration of rightful authority to, and the independence of, the executive and judicial departments of the Government, the subordination of the military to the civil power, to the end that the usurpations of Congress and despotism of the sword may cease.

8. Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens at home and abroad, the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers, and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for National integrity, constitutional liberty, and individual rights, and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance, and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crime committed beyond their jurisdiction.

In demanding these measures and reforms we arraign the Radical party for its disregard of right and the unparalleled oppression and tyranny which have marked its career. After the most solemn and unanimous pledge of both Houses of Congress to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintenance of the Government and the preservation of the Union under the Constitution, it has repeatedly violated that most sacred pledge

under which alone was rallied that noble volunteer Army which carried our flag to victory. Instead of restoring the Union, it has, so far as in its power, dissolved it, and subjected ten States, in time of profound peace, to military despotism and negro supremacy. It has nullified there the right of trial by jury; it has abolished the *habeas corpus*, that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the freedom of speech and the press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures and arrests and military trials and secret star-chamber inquisitions for the constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded in time of peace the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the private rooms of individuals, and seized their private papers and letters without any specific charge or notice of affidavit, as required by the organic law; it has converted the American Capitol into a bastille; it has established a system of spies and official espionage to which no constitutional monarchy of Europe would now dare to resort; it has abolished the right of appeal on important constitutional questions to the supreme judicial tribunals, and threatens to curtail or destroy its original jurisdiction, which is irrevocably vested by the Constitution, while the learned Chief Justice has been subjected to the most atrocious calumnies, merely because he would not prostitute his high office to the support of the false and partisan charges preferred against the President. Its corruption and extravagance have exceeded anything known in history, and, by its frauds and monopolies it has nearly doubled the burden of the debt created by the war. It has stripped the President of his constitutional power of appointment, even of his own Cabinet. Under its repeated assaults the pillars of the Government are rocking on their base, and should it succeed in November next, and inaugurate its President, we will meet as a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the Constitution.

And we do declare and resolve that ever since the people of the United States threw off all subjection to the British Crown the privilege and trust of suffrage have belonged to the several States, and have been granted, regulated, and

controlled exclusively by the political power of each State respectively, and that any attempt by Congress, on any pretext whatever, to deprive any State of this right, or interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant usurpation of power which can find no warrant in the Constitution, and, if sanctioned by the people, will subvert our form of government, and can only end in a single, centralized and consolidated government, in which the separate existence of the States will be entirely absorbed, and an unqualified despotism be established in place of a Federal Union of co-equal States.

And that we regard the reconstruction acts (so-called) of Congress, as such, as usurpations and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void. That our soldiers and sailors, who carried the flag of our country to victory against a most gallant and determined foe, must ever be gratefully remembered, and all the guaranties given in their favor must be faithfully carried into execution.

That the public lands should be distributed as widely as possible among the people, and should be disposed of either under the pre-emption of homestead lands, or sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants, at the minimum price established by the Government. When grants of the public lands may be allowed, necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the proceeds of the sale of such lands, and not the lands themselves, should be so applied.

That the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson, in exercising the power of his high office in resisting the aggressions of Congress upon the constitutional rights of the States and the people, is entitled to the gratitude of the whole American people, and in behalf of the Democratic party we tender him our thanks for his patriotic efforts in that regard.

Upon this platform the Democratic party appeal to every patriot, including all the conservative element and all who desire to support the Constitution and restore the Union, forgetting all past differences of opinion, to unite with us in the present great struggle for the liberties of the people; and that to all such, to whatever party they may have heretofore

belonged, we extend the right hand of fellowship, and hail all such co-operating with us as friends and brethren.

Resolved, That this convention sympathize cordially with the workmen of the United States in their efforts to protect the rights and interests of the laboring classes of the country.

Resolved, That the thanks of the convention are tendered to Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase for the justice, dignity, and impartiality with which he presided over the court of impeachment on the trial of President Andrew Johnson.

[This last was offered by Mr. Kernan, of New York, after the nominations, and immediately before the final adjournment, and was carried by acclamation.]

• REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

The National Republican party of the United States, assembled in National Convention, in the city of Chicago, on the 21st day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:

1. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption, in the majority of the States lately in rebellion, of Constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the Government to sustain those institutions and prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy.

2. The guaranty by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South, was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States.

3. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a National crime; and the National honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

4. It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the National faith will permit.

5. The National debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption; and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be honestly done.

6. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

7. The Government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform.

8. We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession to the Presidency of Andrew Johnson, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; who has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; who has refused to execute the laws, who has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, liberty, and life of the citizen; who has abused the pardoning power; who has denounced the National Legislature as unconstitutional; who has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion; who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five Senators.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European Powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States, as a relic of feudal times, not authorized by the laws of nations, and at war with our National honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all their rights of citizenship as though they were native born; and no citizen

of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country; and, if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the Government to interfere in his behalf.

10. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperilled their lives in the service of the country; the bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people — a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

11. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development, and resources and increase of power to this Republic, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

12. This convention declares itself in sympathy with all oppressed people struggling for their rights.

13. That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance with which men who have served in the rebellion, but who now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern State governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

14. That we recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of Democratic government; and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil.

1872

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

We, the Democratic electors of the United States, in National Convention assembled, do present the following principles, already adopted at Cincinnati, as essential to just government:

[See Liberal Republican Platform, 1872.]

LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

We, the Liberal Republicans of the United States, in National Convention assembled at Cincinnati, proclaim the following principles as essential to just government:

1. We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of Government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious, or political.

2. We pledge ourselves to maintain the Union of these States, emancipation, and enfranchisement, and to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

3. We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the rebellion, which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country.

4. Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and freedom of persons under the protection of the *habeas corpus*. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order; for the State self-government, and for the nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power.

5. The civil service of the Government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition and object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon

free institutions, and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of Republican government. We therefore regard a thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only valid claim to public employment; that the offices of the Government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and that public station become again a post of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for re-election.

6. We demand a system of Federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industry of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the Government, economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof; and recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their Congressional districts, and to the decision of Congress thereon, wholly free from executive interference or dictation.

7. The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise.

8. A speedy return to specie payment is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government.

9. We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame for the full reward of their patriotism.

10. We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

11. We hold that it is the duty of the Government in its intercourse with foreign nations to cultivate the friendships of peace, by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonorable either to demand what is not right or to submit to what is wrong.

12. For the promotion and success of these vital principles,

and the support of the candidates nominated by this convention, we invite and cordially welcome the co-operation of all patriotic citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations.

DEMOCRATIC (STRAIGHT-OUT) PLATFORM

WHEREAS, A frequent recurrence to first principles and eternal vigilance against abuses are the wisest provisions for liberty, which is the source of progress, and fidelity to our constitutional system is the only protection for either; therefore,

Resolved, That the original basis of our whole political structure is consent in every part thereof. The people of each State voluntarily created their State, and the States voluntarily formed the Union; and each State provided by its written constitution for everything a State could do for the protection of life, liberty, and property within it; and each State, jointly with the others, provided a Federal Union for foreign and inter-State relations.

Resolved, That all governmental powers, whether State or Federal, are trust powers coming from the people of each State, and that they are limited to the written letter of the Constitution and the laws passed in pursuance of it; which powers must be exercised in the utmost good faith, the Constitution itself stating in what manner they may be altered and amended.

Resolved, That the interests of labor and capital should not be permitted to conflict, but should be harmonized by judicious legislation. While such a conflict continues, labor, which is the parent of wealth, is entitled to paramount consideration.

Resolved, That we proclaim to the world that principle is to be preferred to power; that the Democratic party is held together by the cohesion of time-honored principles, which they will never surrender in exchange for all the offices which Presidents can confer. The pangs of the minorities are doubtless excruciating; but we welcome an eternal minority, under the banner inscribed with our principles, rather than

an almighty and everlasting majority purchased by their abandonment.

Resolved, That, having been betrayed at Baltimore into a false creed and a false leadership by the convention, we repudiate both, and appeal to the people to approve our platform and to rally to the fold and support the true platform and the candidates who embody it.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

The Republican party of the United States, assembled in National Convention in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th and 6th days of June, 1872, again declares its faith, appeals to its history, and announces its position upon the questions before the country.

1. During eleven years of supremacy, it has accepted with grand courage the solemn duties of the time. It suppressed a gigantic rebellion, emancipated four millions of slaves, decreed the equal citizenship of all, and established universal suffrage. Exhibiting unparalleled magnanimity, it criminally punished no man for political offenses, and warmly welcomed all who proved loyalty by obeying the laws and dealing justly with their neighbors. It has steadily decreased with firm hand the resultant disorders of a great war, and initiated a wise and humane policy toward the Indians. The Pacific Railroad and similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers, immigration protected and encouraged, and a full acknowledgment of the naturalized citizen's rights secured from European Powers. A uniform National currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the National credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. The revenues have been carefully collected and honestly applied. Despite annual large reductions in the rates of taxation, the public debt has been reduced during General Grant's Presidency at the rate of a hundred millions a year, great financial crises have been avoided, and peace and plenty prevail throughout the land.

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Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the nation kept in high respect throughout the world. This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge for the future. We believe the people will not intrust the Government to any party or combination of men composed chiefly of those who have resisted every step of this beneficent progress.

2. The recent amendments to the National Constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are law, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be entrusted only to the party that secured those amendments.

3. Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate State and Federal legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude.

4. The National Government should seek to maintain honorable peace with all nations, protecting its citizens everywhere and sympathizing with all people who strive for greater liberty.

5. Any system of the civil service under which the subordinate positions of the Government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life tenure of office.

6. We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the National domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

7. The annual revenue, after paying current expenditures, pensions, and the interest on the public debt, should furnish a moderate balance for the reduction of the principal, and that revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax on tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon

importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity and growth of the whole country.

8. We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the Government to all our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who in the line of duty became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge.

9. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European Powers concerning allegiance—"once a subject always a subject"—having at last, through the efforts of the Republican party, been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our Government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former Governments, and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration.

10. The franking privilege ought to be abolished, and the way prepared for a speedy reduction in the rates of postage.

11. Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor, and the Republican party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor, the creator of capital, the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization.

12. We hold that Congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box; and therefore they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

13. We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a National crime. We witness with pride

the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance, and confidently expect that our excellent National currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment.

14. The Republican party is mindful of its obligations to the loyal women of America for their noble devotion to the cause of freedom. Their admission to wider fields of usefulness is viewed with satisfaction; and the honest demand of any class of citizens for additional rights should be treated with respectful consideration.

15. We heartily approve the action of Congress in extending amnesty to those lately in rebellion, and rejoice in the growth of peace and fraternal feeling throughout the land.

16. The Republican party proposes to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the State and to the Federal Government. It disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the State or National Government.

17. It is the duty of the General Government to adopt such measures as may tend to encourage and restore American commerce and ship-building.

18. We believe that the modest patriotism, the earnest purpose, the sound judgment, the practical wisdom, the incorruptible integrity, and the illustrious services of Ulysses S. Grant have commended him to the heart of the American people, and with him at our head we start to-day upon a new march to victory.

19. Henry Wilson, nominated for the Vice-Presidency, known to the whole land from the early days of the great struggle for liberty as an indefatigable laborer in all campaigns, an incorruptible legislator, and representative man of American institutions, is worthy to associate with our great leader and share the honors which we pledge our best efforts to bestow upon them.

LABOR REFORM PLATFORM

We hold that all political power is inherent in the people, and Free Government founded on their authority and established for their benefit; that all citizens are equal in political rights, entitled to the largest religious and political liberty compatible with the good order of society, as also the use and enjoyment of the fruits of their labor and talents; and no man or set of men is entitled to exclusive separable endowments and privileges, or immunities from the Government, but in consideration of public services; and any laws destructive of these fundamental principles are without moral binding force, and should be repealed. And believing that all the evils resulting from unjust legislation now affecting the industrial classes can be removed by the adoption of the principle contained in the following declaration; therefore,

Resolved, That it is the duty of the Government to establish a just standard of distribution of capital and labor by providing a purely National circulating medium, based on the faith and resources of the nation, issued directly to the people without the intervention of any system of banking corporations, which money shall be legal tender in the payment of all debts, public and private, and interchangeable at the option of the holder for Government bonds bearing a rate of interest not to exceed 3-65 per cent., subject to future legislation by Congress.

2. That the national debt should be paid in good faith, according to the original contract, at the earliest option of the Government, without mortgaging the property of the people or the future exigencies of labor to enrich a few capitalists at home and abroad.

3. That justice demands that the burdens of Government should be so adjusted as to bear equally on all classes, and that the exemption from taxation of Government bonds bearing extravagant rates of interest is a violation of all just principles of revenue laws.

4. That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals nor granted to

corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted to landless settlers only, in amounts not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres of land.

5. That Congress should modify the tariff so as to admit free such articles of common use as we can neither produce nor grow, and lay duties for revenue mainly upon articles of luxury and upon such articles of manufacture as will, we having the raw materials, assist in further developing the resources of the country.

6. That the presence in our country of Chinese laborers, imported by capitalists in large numbers, for servile use, is an evil, entailing want and its attendant train of misery and crime on all classes of the American people, and should be prohibited by legislation.

7. That we ask for the enactment of a law by which all mechanics and day laborers employed by or on behalf of the Government, whether directly or indirectly, through persons, firms, or corporations, contracting with the State, shall conform to the reduced standard of eight hours a day, recently adopted by Congress for National employees; and also for an amendment to the acts of incorporation for cities and towns by which all laborers and mechanics employed at their expense shall conform to the same number of hours.

8. That the enlightened spirit of the age demands the abolition of the system of contract labor in our prisons and other reformatory institutions.

9. That the protection of life, liberty, and property are the three cardinal principles of Government, and the first two are more sacred than the latter; therefore money needed for prosecuting wars should, as it is required, be assessed and collected from the wealthy of the country, and not entailed as a burden on posterity.

10. That it is the duty of the Government to exercise its power over railroads and telegraph corporations, that they shall not in any case be privileged to exact such rates of freight, transportation, or charges by whatever name, as may bear unduly or unequally upon the producer or consumer.

11. That there should be such a reform in the civil service of the National Government as will remove it beyond all partisan influence, and place it in the charge and under the direction of intelligent and competent business men.

12. That as both history and experience teaches us that power ever seeks to perpetuate itself by every and all means, and that its prolonged possession in the hands of one person is always dangerous to the interest of a free people; and believing that the spirit of our organic laws and the stability and safety of our free institutions are best obeyed on the one hand, and secured on the other, by a regular constitutional change in the chief of the country at each election; therefore, we are in favor of limiting the occupancy of the Presidential chair to one term.

13. But we are in favor of granting general amnesty and restoring the Union at once on the basis of the equality of rights and privileges to all, the impartial administration of justice being the only true bond of union to bind the States together and restore the Government of the people.

14. That we demand the subjection of the military to the civil authorities, and the confinement of its operations to National purposes alone.

15. That we deem it expedient for Congress to supervise the patent laws, so as to give labor more fully the benefit of its own ideas and inventions.

16. That fitness, and not political or personal considerations, should be the only recommendation to public office, either appointive or elective, and any and all laws looking to the establishment of this principle are heartily approved.

PROHIBITION PLATFORM

The preamble recites that protection and allegiance are reciprocal duties; and every citizen who yields obediently to the full commands of Government should be protected in all enjoyment of personal security, personal liberty, and private property. That the traffic in intoxicating drinks greatly impairs the personal security and personal liberty of a great

mass of citizens, and renders private property insecure. That all political parties are hopelessly unwilling to adopt an adequate policy on this question.

Therefore, as a National Convention, we adopt the following declaration of principles:

That, while we acknowledge the patriotism and profound statesmanship of those patriots who laid the foundation of this Government, securing at once the rights of the States severally and their inseparable union by the Federal Constitution, we would not merely garnish the sepulchres of our Republican fathers, but we do hereby renew our pledges of solemn fealty to the imperishable principles of civil and religious liberty embodied in the Declaration of Independence and our Federal Constitution.

That the traffic in intoxicating beverages is a dishonor to Christian civilization, a political wrong of unequalled enormity, subversive of ordinary objects of Government, not capable of being regulated or restrained by any system of license whatever, and imperatively demands, for its suppression, effective legal prohibition, both by State and National legislation.

That there can be no greater peril to a nation than the existing party competition for the liquor vote. That experience shows that any party not opposed to the traffic, that will engage in this competition, will court the favor of criminal classes, will barter away the public morals, the purity of the ballot, and every object of the Government, for party success.

That, as Prohibitionists, we will individually use all efforts to persuade men from the use of intoxicating liquors; and we invite all persons to assist in this movement.

That competence, honesty, and sobriety are indispensable qualifications for holding offices.

That removals from public offices for mere political differences of opinion are wrong.

That fixed and moderate salaries of public officers should take the places of fees and perquisites; and that all means should be taken to prevent corruption and encourage economy.

That the President and Vice-President should be elected directly by the people.

That we are in favor of a sound National currency, adequate to the demands of business, and convertible into gold and silver at the will of the holder, and the adoption of every measure compatible with justice, and public safety to appreciate our present currency to the gold standard.

That the rates of ocean and inland postage and railroad telegraph lines and water transportation should be made as low as possible by law.

That we are opposed to all discrimination in favor of capital against labor, as well as all monopoly and class legislation.

That the removal of the burdens imposed in the traffic in intoxicating drinks will emancipate labor, and will practically promote labor reform.

That suffrage should be granted to all persons without regard to sex.

That the fostering and extension of common schools is a primary duty of the Government.

That a liberal policy should be pursued to promote foreign emigration.

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DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

We, the delegates of the Democratic party of the United States in National Convention assembled, do hereby declare the administration of the Federal Government to be in urgent need of immediate reform; do hereby enjoin upon the nominees of this convention, and of the Democratic party in each State, a zealous effort and co-operation to this end; and do hereby appeal to our fellow-citizens of every former political connection to undertake with us this first and most pressing patriotic duty.

For the Democracy of the whole country, we do here reaffirm our faith in the permanence of the Federal Union, our devotion to the constitution of the United States, with its amendments universally accepted as a final settlement of the controversies that engendered civil war, and do here record our steadfast confidence in the perpetuity of Republican self-government.

In absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority — the vital principle of republics; in the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; in the total separation of Church and State, for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom; in the equality of all citizens before just laws of their own enactment; in the liberty of individual conduct, unvexed by sumptuary laws; in the faithful education of the rising generation, that they may preserve, enjoy, and transmit these best conditions of human happiness and hope, we behold the noblest products of a hundred years of changeeful history; but while upholding the bond of our Union and great charter of these our rights, it behooves a free people to practise also that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

Reform is necessary to rebuild and establish in the hearts of the whole people the Union, eleven years ago happily rescued from the danger of a secession of States; but now to be saved from a corrupt centralism which, after inflicting upon ten States the rapacity of carpet-bag tyrannies, has honeycombed the offices of the Federal Government itself with incapacity, waste, and fraud; infected States and municipalities with the contagion of misrule, and locked fast the prosperity of an industrious people in the paralysis of "hard times."

Reform is necessary to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit, and maintain the National honor.

We denounce the failure, for all these eleven years of peace, to make good the promise of the legal tender notes, which are a changing standard of value in the hands of the people, and the non-payment of which is a disregard of the plighted faith of the nation.

We denounce the improvidence which, in eleven years of peace, has taken from the people in Federal taxes thirteen times the whole amount of the legal-tender notes, and squandered four times their sum in useless expense without accumulating any reserve for their redemption.

We denounce the financial imbecility and immorality of that party which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, no preparation for resumption, but instead has obstructed resumption, by wasting our resources

and exhausting all our surplus income; and, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto. As such hindrance we denounce the resumption clause of the Act of 1875, and we here demand its repeal.

We demand a judicious system of preparation by public economies, by official retrenchments, and by wise finance, which shall enable the nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and its perfect readiness to meet any of its promises at the call of the creditor entitled to payment.

We believe such a system, well devised, and, above all, entrusted to competent hands for execution, creating at no time an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vaster machinery of credit by which ninety-five per cent. of all business transactions are performed—a system open, public, and inspiring general confidence,—would from the day of its adoption bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries, set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, restore employment to labor, and renew in all its natural sources the prosperity of the people.

Reform is necessary in the sum and modes of Federal taxation, to the end that capital may be set free from distrust, and labor lightly burdened.

We denounce the present tariff, levied upon nearly four thousand articles, as a masterpiece of injustice, inequality, and false pretence. It yields a dwindling not a yearly rising revenue. It has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labor. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank on the high seas. It has cut down the sales of American manufactures at home and abroad, and depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people. It costs the people five times more than it produces to the Treasury, obstructs the processes of production, and wastes the fruits of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue.

Reform is necessary in the scale of public expense—Federal, State, and municipal. Our Federal taxation has swollen from sixty millions gold, in 1860, to four hundred and fifty millions currency, in 1870; our aggregate taxation from one hundred and fifty-four millions gold, in 1860, to seven hundred and thirty millions currency, in 1870; or, in one decade from less than five dollars per head to more than eighteen dollars per head. Since the peace, the people have paid to their tax-gatherers more than thrice the sum of the National debt, and more than twice that sum for the Federal Government alone. We demand a rigorous frugality in every department and from every officer of the Government.

Reform is necessary to put a stop to the profligate waste of public lands and their diversion from actual settlers by the party in power, which has squandered two hundred millions of acres upon railroads alone, and out of more than thrice that aggregate has disposed of less than a sixth directly to tillers of the soil.

Reform is necessary to correct the omissions of a Republican Congress and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy, which have stripped our fellow-citizens of foreign birth and kindred race recrossing the Atlantic of the shield of American citizenship, and have exposed our brethren of the Pacific coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and in fact now by law denied citizenship through naturalization as being neither accustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization nor exercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German and tolerates a revival of the coolie trade in Mongolian women imported for immoral purposes, and Mongolian men held to perform servile labor contracts, and demand such modification of the treaty with the Chinese Empire, or such legislation within constitutional limitations, as shall prevent further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race.

Reform is necessary, and can never be effected but by making it the controlling issue of the elections, and lifting it above the two false issues with which the office-holding class and the party in power seek to smother it.

1. The false issue with which they would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belong exclusively to the several States, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their foundation and is resolved to maintain without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed and without largesses from the Treasury to any.

2. The false issue by which they seek to light anew the dying embers of sectional hate between kindred peoples once estranged but now reunited in one indivisible Republic and a common destiny.

Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the governmental business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency, and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men nor the instrument of their ambition. Here again promises falsified in the performance attest that the party in power can work out no practical or salutary reform.

Reform is necessary even more in the higher grades of the public service. President, Vice-President, Judges, Senators, Representatives, Cabinet officers, these and all others in authority are the people's servants. Their offices are not a private perquisite; they are a public trust.

When the annals of this Republic show the disgrace and censure of a Vice-President; a late Speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer; three Senators profiting secretly by their votes as law-makers; five chairmen of the leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery; a late Secretary of the Treasury forcing balances in the public accounts; a late Attorney-General misappropriating public funds; a Secretary of the Navy enriched or enriching friends by percentages levied off the profits of contractors with his department; an Ambassador to England censured in a dishonorable speculation;

the President's private secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a Secretary of War impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors—the demonstration is complete that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic, and lest by making no change of men or parties we get no change of measures and no real reform.

All these abuses, wrongs and crimes, the product of sixteen years' ascendancy of the Republican party, create a necessity for reform confessed by Republicans themselves; but their reformers are voted down in convention and displaced from the Cabinet. The party's mass of honest voters is powerless to resist the eighty thousand office-holders, its leaders and guides.

Reform can only be had by a peaceful civic revolution. We demand a change of system, a change of administration, a change of parties, that we may have a change of measures and of men.

Resolved, That this convention, representing the Democratic party of the United States, do cordially indorse the action of the present House of Representatives in reducing and curtailing the expenses of the Federal Government, in cutting down salaries, extravagant appropriations, and in abolishing useless offices and places not required by the public necessities, and we shall trust to the firmness of the Democratic members of the House that no committee of conference and no misinterpretation of the rules will be allowed to defeat these wholesome measures of economy demanded by the country.

Resolved, That the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have a just claim upon the care, protection, and gratitude of their fellow-citizens.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

When, in the economy of Providence, this land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of government of the people, by the people, and for the people, was to

be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories to high aims for the good of our country, and mankind, and looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope, and purpose, we, the representatives of the party in National Convention assembled, make the following declarations of principles:

1. The United States of America is a nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the National and State governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

2. The Republican party has preserved these governments to the hundredth anniversary of the nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truth spoken at its cradle—"that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, or, if need be, vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

3. The permanent pacification of the southern section of the Union and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights is a duty to which the Republican party stands sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments is vested by those amendments in the Congress of the United States, and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the Government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and a Chief Executive whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

4. In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant the National Government assumed to remove any doubts of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and "solemnly pledged its faith to make provisions at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and the National credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

5. Under the Constitution the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office; the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service, and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

6. We rejoice in the quickening conscience of the people concerning political affairs, and will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be swift, thorough, and unsparing.

7. The public school system of the several States is the bulwark of the American Republic, and with a view to its security and permanence we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as

possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the National domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the Government so to modify existing treaties with European governments that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native born; and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect emigrants in the absence of power in the States for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country.

12. The Republican party recognizes with approval the substantial advances recently made toward the establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by Republican legislatures, in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities, and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges, and immunities, should be treated with respectful consideration.

13. The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate in the Territories that relic of barbarism, polygamy; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all the Territories.

14. The pledges which the nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those who imperilled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance.

15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We therefore note with deep solicitude that the

Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the nation; and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife and imperil National honor and human rights.

16. We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason; with making its control of the House of Representatives the triumph and opportunity of the nation's recent foes; with reasserting and applauding in the National Capitol the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion; with sending Union soldiers to the rear, and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the Government; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial question; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagements and obstruction of investigation; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendancy in the Lower House of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the Government; and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable.

17. The National administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his eminent services in war and in peace.

18. We present as our candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States two distinguished statesmen, of eminent ability and character, and conspicuously fitted for those high offices, and we confidently appeal to the American people to entrust the administration of their public affairs to Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler.

GREENBACK PLATFORM

The Independent party is called into existence by the necessities of the people, whose industries are prostrated, whose labor is deprived of its just reward by a ruinous policy which

the Republican and Democratic parties refused to change; and, in view of the failure of these parties to furnish relief to the depressed industries of the country, thereby disappointing the just hopes and expectations of the suffering people, we declare our principles, and invite all independent and patriotic men to join our ranks in this movement for financial reform and industrial emancipation.

First. We demand the immediate and unconditional repeal of the Specie Resumption Act of January 14, 1875, and the rescue of our industries from ruin and disaster resulting from its enforcement; and we call upon all patriotic men to organize in every Congressional district of the country, with a view of electing representatives to Congress who will carry out the wishes of the people in this regard and stop the present suicidal and destructive policy of contraction.

Second. We believe that a United States note, issued directly by the Government, and convertible, on demand, into United States obligations, bearing a rate of interest not exceeding one cent a day on each one hundred dollars, and exchangeable for United States notes at par, will afford the best circulating medium ever devised. Such United States notes should be full legal tenders for all purposes, except for the payment of such obligations as are, by existing contracts, especially made payable in coin; and we hold that it is the duty of the Government to provide such a circulating medium, and insist, in the language of Thomas Jefferson, that "bank paper must be suppressed and the circulation restored to the nation to whom it belongs."

Third. It is the paramount duty of the Government, in all its legislation, to keep in view the full development of all legitimate business, agricultural, mining, manufacturing, and commercial.

Fourth. We most earnestly protest against any further issue of gold bonds for sale in foreign markets, by which we would be made for a long period "hewers of wood and drawers of water," to foreigners, especially as the American people would gladly and promptly take at par all bonds the Government may need to sell, providing they are made payable at the option of the holder, and bearing interest at 3.65 per cent. per annum or even a lower rate.

Fifth. We further protest against the sale of Government bonds for the purpose of purchasing silver to be used as a substitute for our more convenient and less fractional currency, which, although well calculated to enrich owners of silver mines, yet in operation it will still further oppress in taxation an already overburdened people.

PROHIBITION PLATFORM

The Prohibition Reform party of the United States, organized in the name of the people to revive, enforce, and perpetuate in the Government the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, submit, in this centennial year of the Republic, for the suffrages of all good citizens, the following platform of National reforms and measures :

First. The legal prohibition in the District of Columbia, the Territories, and in every other place subject to the laws of Congress, of the importation, exportation, manufacture, and traffic of all alcoholic beverages as high crimes against society; an amendment of the National Constitution to render these prohibitory measures universal and permanent, and the adoption of treaty stipulations with foreign powers to prevent the importation and exportation of all alcoholic beverages.

Second. The abolition of class legislation and of special privileges in the Government, and the adoption of equal suffrage and eligibility to office without distinction of race, religious creed, property, or sex.

Third. The appropriation of the public lands, in limited quantities, to actual settlers only; the reduction of the rates of inland and ocean postage, of telegraphic communication, of railroad and water transportation and travel to the lowest practical point, by force of laws wisely and justly framed, with reference not only to the interest of capital employed but to the higher plane of the general good.

Fourth. The suppression by laws of lotteries, and gambling in gold, stocks, produce, and every form of money and property, and the penal inhibition of the use of the public mails for advertising schemes of gambling and lotteries.

Fifth. The abolition of those foul enormities, polygamy and the social evil, and the protection of purity, peace, and happiness of homes by ample and efficient legislation.

Sixth. The National observance of the Christian Sabbath, established by laws prohibiting ordinary labor and business in all departments of public service and private employment (works of necessity, charity, and religion excepted) on that day.

Seventh. The establishment, by mandatory provisions in National and State constitutions, and by all necessary legislation, of a system of free public schools for the universal and forced education of all the youth of the land.

Eighth. The free use of the Bible, not as a ground of religious creeds, but as a text-book of the purest morality, the best liberty, and the noblest literature, in our public schools, that our children may grow up in its light, and that its spirit and principles may pervade our nation.

Ninth. The separation of the Government in all its departments and institutions, including the public schools and all funds for their maintenance, from the control of every religious sect or other association, and the protection alike of all sects by equal laws, with entire freedom of religious faith and worship.

Tenth. The introduction into all treaties hereafter negotiated with foreign governments of a provision for the amicable settlement of international difficulties by arbitration.

Eleventh. The abolition of all barbarous modes and implements of punishment; the recognition of the laws of God and the claims of humanity in the discipline of jails and prisons, and of that higher and wiser civilization worthy of our age and nation which regards the reform of criminals as a means for the prevention of crime.

Twelfth. The abolition of executive and legislative patronage, and the election of President, Vice-President, United States Senators, and of all civil officers, so far as practicable, by the direct vote of the people.

Thirteenth. The practice of a friendly and liberal policy to immigrants from all nations, the guarantee to them of ample protection and of equal rights and privileges.

Fourteenth. The separation of the money of Government from all banking institutions. The National Government only should exercise the high prerogative of issuing paper money, and that should be subject to prompt redemption, on demand, in gold and silver, the only equal standards of value recognized by the civilized world.

Fifteenth. The reduction of the salaries of public officers in a just ratio with the decline of wages and market prices; the abolition of sinecures, unnecessary offices, and official fees and perquisites; the practice of strict economy in Government expenses, and a free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public trust.

AMERICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM

We hold:

1. That ours is a Christian and not a heathen nation, and that the God of the Christian Scriptures is the author of civil government.
2. That God requires and man needs a Sabbath.
3. That the prohibition of the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating drinks as a beverage is the true policy on the temperance question.
4. The charters of all secret lodges granted by our Federal and State legislatures should be withdrawn, and their oaths prohibited by law.
5. That the civil qualities secured to all American citizens by articles 13, 14, and 15 of our amended Constitution should be preserved inviolate.
6. That arbitration of differences with nations is the most direct and sure method of securing and perpetuating a permanent peace.
7. That to cultivate the intellect without improving the morals of men is to make mere adepts and experts; therefore, the Bible should be associated with books of science and literature in all our educational institutions.
8. That land and other monopolies should be discounted.

9. That the Government should furnish the people with an ample and sound currency and a return to specie payment as soon as practicable.

10. That maintenance of the public credit, protection to all loyal citizens, and justice to Indians are essential to the honor and safety of our nation.

11. And, finally, we demand for the American people the abolition of electoral colleges, and a direct vote for President and Vice-President of the United States.

1880

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

The Democrats of the United States, in convention assembled, declare—

1. We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic party, as illustrated by the teachings and example of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots, and embodied in the platform of the last National Convention of the party.

2. Opposition to centralizationism, and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever be the form of government, a real despotism. No sumptuary laws; separation of Church and State, for the good of each; common schools fostered and protected.

3. Home rule; honest money—the strict maintenance of the public faith—consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, State and National, and a tariff for revenue only. The subordination of the military to the civil power, and a general and thorough reform of the civil service.

4. The right to a free ballot is the right preservative of all rights, and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States.

5. The existing administration is the representative of conspiracy only, and its claim of right to surround the ballot-boxes

with troops and deputy marshals, to intimidate and obstruct the electors, and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and despotic power, insult the people and imperil their institutions. We execrate the course of the administration in making places in the civil service a reward for political crime, and demand a reform by statute which shall make it forever impossible for the defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of the usurper by billeting villains upon the people.

6. The great fraud of 1876-'77, by which, upon a false count of the electoral votes of two States, the candidate defeated at the polls was declared to be President, and, for the first time in American history, the will of the people was set aside under a threat of military violence, struck a deadly blow at our system of representative government; the Democratic party, to preserve the country from a civil war, submitted for a time in firm and patriotic faith that the people would punish this crime in 1880; this issue precedes and dwarfs every other; it imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the Union than ever addressed the conscience of a nation of free men.

7. The resolution of Samuel J. Tilden not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen, and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican party, is received by the Democrats of the United States with sensibility, and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism, and integrity, unshaken by the assaults of a common enemy, and they further assure him that he is followed into the retirement he has chosen for himself by the sympathy and respect of his fellow-citizens, who regard him as one who, by elevating the standards of public morality, merits the lasting gratitude of his country and his party.

8. Free ships and a living chance for American commerce on the seas and on the land. Nor discrimination in favor of transportation lines, corporations, or monopolies.

9. Amendment of the Burlingame treaty. No more Chinese immigration, except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and therein carefully guarded.

10. Public money and public credit for public purposes solely; and public land for actual settlers.

11. The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorant and the commune.

12. We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress which has reduced the public expenditure \$40,000,000 a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at home and the National honor abroad, and, above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the government as shall insure us genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

The Republican party, in National Convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the Federal Government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration :

It suppressed a rebellion which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the National authority, it reconstructed the Union of the States with freedom instead of slavery as its corner-stone, it transformed 4,000,000 human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens, it relieved Congress of the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist.

It has raised the value of our paper currency from 38 per cent. to the par of gold; it has restored, upon a solid basis, payment in coin of all National obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country; it has lifted the credit of the nation from the point of where 6 per cent. bonds sold at 86 to that where 4 per cent. bonds are eagerly sought at a premium.

Under its administration railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860 to more than 82,000 miles in 1879.

Our foreign trade increased from \$700,000,000 to \$1,150,000,000 in the same time, and our exports, which were \$20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were \$265,000,000 more than our imports in 1879.

Without resorting to loans, it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of Government besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and has disbursed annually more than \$30,000,000 for soldiers' and sailors' pensions. It has paid \$880,000,000 of the public debt, and, by refunding the balance at lower rates, has reduced the annual interest charge from nearly \$150,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000.

All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed.

Upon this record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statement of the principles and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts :

1. We affirm that the work of the Republican party for the last twenty years has been such as to commend it to the favor of the nation; that the fruits of the costly victories which we have achieved through immense difficulties should be preserved; that the peace regained should be cherished; that the Union should be perpetuated, and that the liberty secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to other generations; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired; that the pensions promised should be paid; that the debt so much reduced should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce already increasing should be steadily encouraged.

2. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract. Out of confederated States it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied to the nation, while others are denied to the States, but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by National, and not by the State tribunal.

3. The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the National Government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional ability.

The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several States, and the destiny of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one State, but by the average genius of all.

4. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting the establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against the influence of secret sectarianism while each State is exposed to its domination. We, therefore, recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the legislature of each State, and to forbid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

5. We reaffirm the belief avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor; that no further grants of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the Territories; that everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; that we deem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our seacoast and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the day of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory. To do them honor is and shall forever be the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

6. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of Chinese as a matter of grave concernment under the exercise of both these powers, would limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result.

7. That the purity and patriotism which characterized the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our immediate predecessors to

him for a Presidential candidate, have continued to inspire him in his career as Chief Executive; and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his vetoes interposed between the people and attempted partisan laws.

8. We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust for office and patronage; that to obtain possession of the National Government and control of the place, they have obstructed all efforts to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of the suffrage, and have devised fraudulent ballots, and invented fraudulent certification of returns; have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress, to secure at all hazards the vote of a majority of States in the House of Representatives; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, rescued by the courage and action of Maine's patriotic sons; have, by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice, attached partisan legislation to appropriation bills upon whose passage the very movement of the Government depended; have crushed the rights of the individual; have advocated the principles and sought the favor of the rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories and to overcome its inestimably valuable results of nationality, personal freedom, and individual equality.

The equal and steady and complete enforcement of the laws, and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunity guaranteed by the Constitution, are the first duties of the nation.

The dangers of a "Solid South" can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the nation has made to the citizen. The execution of the laws, and the punishment of all those who violate them, are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the nation makes the nation must perform. A nation cannot with safety relegate this duty to the States. The

"Solid South" must be divided by the peaceful agencies of the ballot, and all honest opinions must there find free expression. To this end the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence, or fraud.

And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use all legitimate means to restore all the States of this Union to the most perfect harmony which may be possible, and we submit to the practical, sensible people of these United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the National Government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence, and hope.

9. The Republican party, adhering to the principles affirmed by its last National Convention of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical, and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the legislative with the executive departments of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service.

GREENBACK PLATFORM

The civil Government should guarantee the divine right of every laborer to the results of his toil, thus enabling the producers of wealth to provide themselves with the means for physical comfort, and facilities for mental, social, and moral culture; and we condemn, as unworthy of our civilization, the barbarism which imposes upon wealth-producers a state of drudgery as the price of a bare animal existence. Notwithstanding the enormous increase of productive power by the universal introduction of labor-saving machinery and the discovery of new agents for the increase of wealth, the task of the laborer is scarcely lightened, the hours of toil are but little shortened, and few producers are lifted from poverty into

comfort and pecuniary independence. The associated monopolies, the international syndicates, and other income classes demand dear money, cheap labor, and a strong government, and, hence, a weak people. Corporate control of the volume of money has been the means of dividing society into hostile classes, of an unjust distribution of the products of labor, and of building up monopolies of associated capital, endowed with power to confiscate private property. It has kept money scarce; and the scarcity of money enforces debt-trade, and public and corporate loans; debt engenders usury, and usury ends in the bankruptcy of the borrower. Other results are—deranged markets, uncertainty in manufacturing enterprises and agriculture, precarious and intermittent employment for the laborer, industrial war, increasing pauperism and crime, and the consequent intimidation and disfranchisement of the producer, and a rapid declension into corporate feudalism. Therefore, we declare :

First. That the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power, to be maintained by the people for their common benefit. The delegation of this right to corporations is a surrender of the central attribute of sovereignty, void of constitutional sanction, and conferring upon a subordinate and irresponsible power an absolute dominion over industry and commerce. All money, whether metallic or paper, should be issued, and its volume controlled, by the Government, and not by or through banking corporations; and, when so issued, should be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private.

Second. That the bonds of the United States should not be refunded, but paid as rapidly as practicable, according to contract. To enable the Government to meet these obligations, legal-tender currency should be substituted for the notes of the National banks, the National banking system abolished, and the unlimited coinage of silver, as well as gold, established by law.

Third. That labor should be so protected by National and State authority as to equalize its burdens and insure a just distribution of its results. The eight-hour law of Congress should be enforced, the sanitary condition of industrial

establishments placed under rigid control, the competition of contract convict labor abolished, a bureau of labor statistics established, factories, mines, and workshops inspected, the employment of children under fourteen years of age forbidden, and wages paid in cash.

Fourth. Slavery being simply cheap labor, and cheap labor being simply slavery, the importation and presence of Chinese serfs necessarily tends to brutalize and degrade American labor; therefore, immediate steps should be taken to abrogate the Burlingame treaty.

Fifth. Railroad land grants forfeited by reason of non-fulfilment of contract should be immediately reclaimed by the Government, and, henceforth, the public domain reserved exclusively as homes for actual settlers.

Sixth. It is the duty of Congress to regulate interstate commerce. All lines of communication and transportation should be brought under such legislative control as shall secure moderate, fair, and uniform rates for passenger and freight traffic.

Seventh. We denounce as destructive to property and dangerous to liberty the action of the old parties in fostering and sustaining gigantic land, railroad, and money corporations, and monopolies invested with and exercising powers belonging to the Government and yet not responsible to it for the manner of their exercise.

Eighth. That the Constitution, in giving Congress the power to borrow money, to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, never intended that the men who loaned their money for an interest consideration should be preferred to the soldiers and sailors who perilled their lives and shed their blood on land and sea in defence of their country; and we condemn the cruel class legislation of the Republican party, which, while professing great gratitude to the soldier, has most unjustly discriminated against him and in favor of the bondholder.

Ninth. All property should bear its just proportion of taxation, and we demand a graduated income tax.

Tenth. We denounce as dangerous the efforts everywhere manifest to restrict the right of suffrage.

Eleventh. We are opposed to an increase of the standing army in time of peace, and the insidious scheme to establish an enormous military power under the guise of militia laws.

Twelfth. We demand absolute Democratic rules for the government of Congress, placing all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and taking away from committees a veto power greater than that of the President.

Thirteenth. We demand a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, instead of a Government of the bondholder, by the bondholder, and for the bondholder; and we denounce every attempt to stir up sectional strife as an effort to conceal monstrous crimes against the people.

Fourteenth. In the furtherance of these ends we ask the co-operation of all fair-minded people. We have no quarrel with individuals, wage no war on classes, but only against vicious institutions. We are not content to endure further discipline from our present actual rulers, who, having dominion over money, over transportation, over land and labor, over the press and the machinery of government, wield unwarrantable power over our institutions and over life and property.

THE PROHIBITION PLATFORM

The Prohibition Reform party of the United States, organized in the name of the people, to revive, enforce, and perpetuate in the Government the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, submit, for the suffrage of all good citizens, the following platform of National reforms and measures.

In the examination and discussion of the temperance question, it has been proven, and is an accepted truth, that alcoholic drinks, whether fermented, brewed, or distilled, are poisonous to the healthy human body, the drinking of which is not only needless but hurtful, necessarily tending to form intemperate habits, increasing greatly the number, severity, and fatal termination of diseases, weakening and deranging the intellect, polluting the affections, hardening the heart, and corrupting the morals, depriving many of reason and still more of its healthful exercises, and annually bringing down large

numbers to untimely graves, producing, in the children of many who drink, a predisposition to intemperance, insanity, and various bodily and mental diseases, causing diminution of strength, feebleness of vision, fickleness of purpose, and premature old age, and inducing, in all future generations, deterioration of moral and physical character. Alcoholic drinks are thus the implacable foe of man as an individual.

First. The legalized importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating drinks ministers to their use, and teaches the erroneous and destructive sentiment that such use is right, thus tending to produce and perpetuate the above-mentioned evils.

Second. To the home it is an enemy — proving itself to be a disturber and destroyer of its peace, prosperity, and happiness; taking from it the earnings of the husband; depriving the dependent wife and children of essential food, clothing, and education; bringing into it profanity, abuse, and violence; setting at naught the vows of the marriage altar; breaking up the family and sundering the children from the parents, and thus destroying one of the most beneficent institutions of our Creator, and removing the sure foundation of good government, National prosperity and welfare.

Third. To the community it is equally an enemy — producing vice, demoralization, and wickedness, its places of sale being resorts of gaming, lewdness, and debauchery, and the hiding-place of those who prey upon society; counteracting the efficacy of religious effort, and of all means of intellectual elevation, moral purity, social happiness, and the eternal good of mankind, without rendering any counteracting or compensating benefits; being in its influences and effect evil and only evil, and that continually.

Fourth. To the State it is equally an enemy — legislative inquiries, judicial investigations, and official reports of all penal, reformatory, and dependent institutions showing that the manufacture and sale of such beverages is the promoting cause of intemperance, crime, and pauperism, and of demands upon public and private charity, imposing the larger part of taxation, paralysing thrift, industry, manufactures, and commercial life, which, but for it, would be unnecessary; disturbing the peace

of streets and highways; filling prisons and poor-houses; corrupting politics, legislation, and the execution of the laws; shortening lives; diminishing health, industry, and productive power in manufactures and art; and is manifestly unjust as well as injurious to the community upon which it is imposed, and is contrary to all just views of civil liberty, as well as a violation of the fundamental maxim of our common law, to use your own property or liberty so as not to injure others.

Fifth. It is neither right nor politic for the State to afford legal protection to any traffic or any system which tends to waste the resources, to corrupt the social habits, and to destroy the health and lives of the people; that the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating beverages is proven to be inimical to the true interest of the individual home, community, and State, and destructive to the order and welfare of society, and ought, therefore, to be classed among crimes to be prohibited.

Sixth. In this time of profound peace at home and abroad the entire separation of the General Government from the drink traffic, and its prohibition in the District of Columbia, Territories, and in all places and ways over which, under the Constitution, Congress has control and power, is a political issue of the first importance to the peace and prosperity of the nation. There can be no stable peace and protection to personal liberty, life, or property until secured by National or State constitutional provisions, enforced by adequate laws.

Seventh. All legitimate industries require deliverance from the taxation and loss which the liquor traffic imposes upon them, and financial or other legislation could not accomplish so much to increase production and cause a demand for labor, and, as a result, for the comforts of living, as the suppression of this traffic would bring to thousands of homes as one of its blessings.

Eighth. The administration of the Government and the execution of the laws are through political parties; and we arraign the Republican party, which has been in continuous power in the nation for twenty years, as being false to duty, as false to loudly proclaimed principles of equal justice to all and special

favours to none, and of protection to the weak and dependent, insensible to the mischief which the trade in liquor has constantly inflicted upon industry, trade, commerce, and the social happiness of the people; that 5652 distilleries, 3830 breweries, and 175,266 places for the sale of these poisonous liquors, involving an annual waste to the nation of one million five hundred thousand dollars and the sacrifice of one hundred thousand lives, have, under its legislation, grown up and been fostered as a legitimate source of revenue; that during its history six Territories have been organized and five States been admitted into the Union, with constitutions provided and approved by Congress, but the prohibition of this debasing and destructive traffic has not been provided for, nor even the people given, at the time of admission, power to forbid it in any one of them. Its history further shows that not in a single instance has an original prohibitory law been passed by any State that was controlled by it, while in four States so governed the laws found on its advent to power have been repealed. At its National Convention in 1872 it declared, as part of its party faith, that "it disapproves of the resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils by interference with rights not surrendered by the people to either the State or National Government," which, the author of this plank says, was adopted by the platform committee with the full and implicit understanding that its purpose was the discountenancing of all so-called temperance, prohibitory, and Sunday laws.

Ninth. We arraign, also, the Democratic party as unfaithful and unworthy of reliance on this question; for, although not clothed with power, but occupying the relation of, an opposition party during twenty years past, strong in numbers and organization, it has allied itself with liquor traffickers, and become, in all the States of the Union, their special political defenders, and in its National Convention in 1876, as an article of its political faith, declared against prohibition and just laws in restraint of the trade in drink by saying it was opposed to what it was pleased to call "all sumptuary laws." The National party has been dumb on this question.

Tenth. Drink-traffickers, having the history and experience of all ages, climes, and conditions of men declaring their business destructive of all good — finding no support in the Bible, morals, or reason — appeal to misapplied law for their justification, and intrench themselves behind the evil elements of political party for defence, party tactics and party inertia become battling forces protecting this evil.

Eleventh. In view of the foregoing facts and history we cordially invite all voters, without regard to former party affiliations, to unite with us in the use of the ballot for the abolition of the drinking system under the authority of our National and State governments. We also demand, as a right, that women, having the privilege of citizens in other respects, be clothed with the ballot, for their protection and as a rightful means for the proper settlement of the liquor question.

Twelfth. To remove the apprehension of some who allege that a loss of public revenue would follow the suppression of a direct trade, we confidently point to the experience of governments abroad and at home, which shows that thrift and revenue from the consumption of legitimate manufactures and commerce have so largely followed the abolition of drink as to fully supply all loss of liquor taxes.

Thirteenth. We recognize the good providence of Almighty God, who has preserved and prospered us a nation; and, asking for His Spirit to guide us to ultimate success, we all look for it, relying upon His omnipotent arm.

1884

PROHIBITION PLATFORM

First. The Prohibition Home Protection party, in National Convention assembled, acknowledge Almighty God as the rightful Sovereign of all men, from whom the first powers of government are derived, to whose laws human enactments should conform, and that peace, prosperity, and happiness can come to the people only when the laws of their National and State governments are in accord with the Divine Will.

Second. That the importation, manufacture, supply, and sale of alcoholic beverages, created and maintained by the laws of the National and State governments, during the entire history of such laws is everywhere shown to be the promoting cause of intemperance, with resulting crime and pauperism, making large demands upon public and private charity, imposing large and unjust taxation and public burdens for penal and sheltering institutions upon thrift, industry, manufactures, and commerce, endangering the public peace, desecration of the Sabbath, corrupting our politics, legislation, and administration of the laws, shortening lives, impairing health, and diminishing productive industry, causing education to be neglected and despised, nullifying the teachings of the Bible, the Church, and the school, the standards and guides of our fathers and their children in the founding and growth under God of our widely extended country, and while imperilling the perpetuity of our civil and religious liberty, are baleful fruits by which we know that these laws are alike contrary to God's laws and contravene our happiness, and we call upon our fellow-citizens to aid in the repeal of these laws and the legal suppression of this baneful liquor traffic.

The fact that during the twenty-four years in which the Republican party has controlled the General Government and that in many of the States no effort has been made to change this policy — Territories have been created from the National domain and governments for them established, and States from them admitted to the Union, — in no instance in neither of which has this traffic been forbidden or the people of these Territories or States been permitted to prohibit.

That there are now over two hundred thousand distilleries, breweries, wholesale and retail dealers in these drinks, holding certificates and claiming the authority of Government for the continuation of a business which is so destructive to the moral and material welfare of the people, together with the fact that they have turned a deaf ear to remonstrance and petition for the correction of this abuse of civil government, is conclusive that the Republican party is insensible to or impotent for the redress of those wrongs, and should no longer be entrusted

with the powers and responsibilities of government; that, although this party in its late National Convention was silent on the liquor question, not so its candidates, Messrs. Blaine and Logan. Within the year past Mr. Blaine has publicly recommended that the revenues derived from the liquor traffic shall be distributed among the States, and Senator Logan has by a bill proposed to devote these revenues to the support of the schools; thus both virtually recommend the perpetuation of the traffic, and that the State and its citizens shall become partners in the liquor crime.

The fact that the Democratic party has in its National deliverance of party policy arrayed itself on the side of the drink-makers and sellers by declaring against the policy of prohibition of such traffic under the false name of "sumptuary laws," and, when in power in some of the States, in refusing remedial legislation, and in Congress of refusing to permit the creation of a board of inquiry to investigate and report upon the effects of this traffic, proves that the Democratic party should not be entrusted with power or place.

That there can be no greater peril to the nation than the existing competition of the Republican and Democratic parties for the liquor vote. Experience shows that any party not openly opposed to the traffic will engage in this competition, will court the favor of the criminal classes, will barter away the public morals, the purity of the ballot, and every trust and object of good government for party success, and patriots and good citizens should find in this practice sufficient cause for immediate withdrawal from all connection with their party.

That we favor reforms in the administration of the Government in the abolition of all sinecures, useless offices and officers, in the election of the post-office officers of the Government instead of appointment by the President; that competency, honesty, and sobriety are essential qualifications for holding civil office, and we oppose the removal of such persons from mere administrative offices except so far as it may be absolutely necessary to secure effectiveness to the vital issues on which the general administration of the Government has been entrusted to a party; that the collection of revenues from

alcohol, liquors, and tobacco should be abolished, as the vices of men are not a proper subject for taxation; that revenues for customs duties should be levied for the support of the Government economically administered, and when so levied the fostering of American labor, manufactures, and industries should constantly be held in view; that the public land should be held for homes for the people and not for gifts to corporations, or to be held in large bodies for speculation upon the needs of actual settlers.

That all money, coin, and paper, shall be made, issued, and regulated by the General Government, and shall be a legal tender for all debts, public and private.

That grateful care and support should be given to our soldiers and sailors, their dependent widows and orphans, disabled in the service of the country.

That we repudiate as un-American, contrary to and subversive of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, from which our Government has grown to be the Government of fifty-five millions of people, and a recognized power among the nations, that any person or people shall or may be excluded from residence or citizenship with all others who may desire the benefits which our institutions confer upon the oppressed of all nations.

That while there are important reforms that are demanded for purity of administration and the welfare of the people, their importance sinks into insignificance when compared with the reform of the drink traffic, which annually wastes \$800,000,000 of the wealth created by toil and thrift, and drags down thousands of families from comfort to poverty; which fills jails, penitentiaries, insane asylums, hospitals, and institutions for dependency; which destroys the health, saps industry, and causes loss of life and property to thousands in the land; lowers intellectual and physical vigor, dulls the cunning hand of the artisan, is the chief cause of bankruptcy, insolvency, and loss in trade, and by its corrupting power endangers the perpetuity of free institutions.

That Congress should exercise its undoubted power, and prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages in

the District of Columbia, the Territories of the United States, in all places over which the Government has exclusive jurisdiction; that hereafter no State shall be admitted into the Union until its Constitution shall expressly prohibit polygamy and the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages.

We earnestly call the attention of the laborer and the mechanic, the miner and manufacturer, and ask investigation of the baneful effects upon labor and industry caused by the needless liquor business, which will be found the robber who lessens wages and profits, the destroyer of the happiness and family welfare of the laboring man; and that labor and all legitimate industry demand deliverance from taxation and loss which this traffic imposes; and that no tariff or other legislation can so healthily stimulate production, or increase a demand for capital and labor, or produce so much of comfort and content, as the suppressing of this traffic would bring to the laboring man, mechanic, or employer of labor, throughout the land.

That the activity and co-operation of the women of America for the promotion of temperance has, in all the history of the past, been a strength and encouragement which we gratefully acknowledge and record. In the later and present phase of the movement for prohibition of the licensed traffic by the abolition of the drink saloon, the purity of purpose and method, the earnestness, zeal, intelligence, and devotion, of the mothers and daughters of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, have been eminently blessed by God. Kansas and Iowa have been given her as "sheafs" of rejoicing, and the education and arousing of the public mind, and the demand for constitutional amendment now prevailing, are largely the fruit of her prayers and labors, and we rejoice to have our Christian women unite with us in sharing the labor that shall bring the abolition of traffic to the polls. She shall join in the grand "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow," when by law our boys and friends shall be free from legal drink and temptation.

That we believe in the civil and political equality of the sexes, and that the ballot in the hand of woman is a right for her protection, and would prove a powerful ally for the

abolition of the drink saloon, the execution of law, the promotion of reform in civil affairs, and the removal of corruption in public life; and thus believing, we relegate the practical outworking of this reform to the discretion of the Prohibition party in the several States, according to the condition of public sentiment in those States. That, gratefully, we acknowledge and praise God for the presence of His Spirit, guiding our counsels and granting the success which has been vouchsafed in the progress of the temperance reform; and, looking to Him from whom all wisdom and help come, we ask the voters of the United States to make the principles of the above declaration a ruling principle in the Government of the nation and of the States.

Resolved, That henceforth the Prohibition Home Protection party shall be called by the name of the Prohibition party.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

The Democratic party of the Union, through its representatives in National Convention assembled, recognizes that, as the nation grows older, new issues are born of time and progress, and old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voice of the people, remain and will ever remain as the best and only security for the continuance of free Government. The preservation of personal rights; the equality of all citizens before the law; the reserved rights of the States, and the supremacy of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution, will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government. But it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the Government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to the popular will. Otherwise, abuses grow, and the Government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens.

on the many who are governed, for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers. This is now the condition of the country; hence a change is demanded.

The Republican party so far as principle is concerned is a reminiscence. In practice it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the Government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party; yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence, and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt. Therefore a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten nor condoned. Again, in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers who had bargained for unlawful profits or high office. The Republican party, during its legal, its stolen, and its bought tenures of power, has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity. Its platform promises are now a list of its past failures. It demands the restoration of our navy—it has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist. It calls upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed; it imposed and has continued those burdens. It professes a policy of reserving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers—it has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. It professes a preference for free institutions—it organized and tried to legalize a control of State elections by Federal troops. It professes a desire to elevate labor—it has subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor. It professes gratitude to all who were disabled or died in the war leaving widows and orphans—it left to a Democratic

House of Representatives the first effort to equalize both bounty and pensions. It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of tariff—it created and has continued them. Its own tariff commission confess the need of more than twenty per cent. reduction—its Congress gave a reduction of less than four per cent. It professes the protection of American manufactures—it has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials. It professes to protect all American industries—it has impoverished many to subsidize a few. It professes the protection of American labor—it has depleted the returns of American agriculture and industry followed by half of our people. It professes the equality of all men before the law, attempting to fix the status of colored citizens—the acts of its Congress were overset by the decisions of its courts. It "accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform"—its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays or actual connivance in the prosecution. Honeycombed with corruption, outbreaking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals, no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its councils or a veto upon bad nominations. That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus of more than \$100,000,000 which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes, which have paralyzed business, crippled industry, and deprived labor of employment and of just reward.

The Democracy pledges itself to purify the administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the nation to its creditors and pensioners.

Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the operations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the

tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests. But, in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the custom house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of the reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice — all taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction and taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government economically administered, including pensions, interest, and principal of the public debt, can be got under our present system of taxation from the custom-house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury and bearing lightest on articles of necessity. We, therefore, denounce the abuses of the existing tariff; and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the Government economically administered.

The system of direct taxation known as the "internal revenue" is a war tax, and so long as the law continues the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war, and be made a fund to defray the expense of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in line of duty in the wars of the Republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having already been provided; and any surplus shall be paid into the Treasury.

We favor an American, continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relation with the fifteen sister republics of North, Central, and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the Government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious and political.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count, and we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses, by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls, as the conclusive proof that a Democratic administration will preserve liberty with order.

The selection of Federal officers for the Territories should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty.

We favor honest civil service reform and a compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries; the separation of Church and State and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

While we favor all legislation which will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly, and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the right of property as defined by law. We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation

as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor.

We believe that the public land ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party should be restored to the public domain, and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations, or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, would convert the General Government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States or the citizens thereof.

In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith, we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits, training, religion, or kindred for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates be closed.

The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of the Government to protect with equal fidelity and vigilance the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad, and to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization, issued by courts of competent jurisdiction, must be respected by the executive and legislative departments of our own Government and all foreign powers. It is an imperative duty of this Government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof. An American citizen is only responsible to his own Government for any act done in his own country or under her flag, and can only be

tried therefor on her own soil, and according to her laws; and no power exists in this Government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act.

This country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy save under Democratic administration. That policy has ever been in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do not act detrimental to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that as a result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California, and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone, and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great water-ways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide water.

Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy our merchant marine was fast overtaking and on the point of outstripping that of Great Britain. Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy our commerce has been left to British bottoms, and the American flag has almost been swept off the high seas. Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand for the people of the United States an American policy. Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors, flying the Stars and Stripes in every port, successfully searched out the market for the varied products of American industry; under a quarter century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantage over all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climate, and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all these United States; despite their population by the foremost races of men, and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty, and adventurous of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in the Old World monarchies, their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies; despite twenty years of peace, that Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great

Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world. Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand, in behalf of the American Democracy, an American policy. Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme and false pretence of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand, in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reducing taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

. With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principle of republics, acquiescence in the will of the majority, that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts, for the reason that the achievement of reform in the administration of the Federal Government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength. Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow-countrymen is united in the wish that that wrong were righted in his person, for the Democracy of the United States we offer to him, in his withdrawal from public cares, not only our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also that best homage of freemen, the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of this Republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

With this statement of the hopes, principles, and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of reform and change in administration is submitted to the people, in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, and employment and due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.

Pending its adoption, Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, submitted the following as a substitute :

Resolved, That no taxes, direct or indirect, can be rightfully imposed upon the people except to meet the expenses of an

economically administered Government ; to bring taxation down to this point is true administrative reform.

Resolved, That the people will tolerate direct taxation for the ordinary expenses of the Government only in the case of dire necessity or war.

Resolved, Therefore, that the revenue necessary for such expenses should be raised by customs duties upon imports after the manner of our fathers.

Resolved, That in levying such duties two principles should be carefully observed. First, that all materials used in the arts and manufactures, and the necessities of life not produced in this country shall come in free, and that all articles of luxury should be taxed as high as possible up to the collection point; second, that in imposing customs duties the laws must be carefully adjusted to promote American enterprise and industries, not to create monopolies, and to cherish and foster American labor.

Faithful industry is the basis on which the whole fabric of civilization rests under our system. Toilers are producers. The mass of the people are the governing power. Being the true Democracy, they demand the fullest consideration of measures for their education, their advancement, and their protection. Labor and capital are allies not enemies. No contention can arise between them if each has done its duty to the other. Under the existing laws, State and National, all such controversies can only be settled by brute force—capital starving labor and labor despoiling capital, the contention ending in the crippling or the ruining of both. But capital is strong; labor is weak; therefore labor has a right to demand of the Government to establish tribunals in which these great controversies which may lead to revolution may be judicially and justly determined with the fullest powers to enforce their decrees; to provide by law that laboring men may combine and organize for their own protection as capital may be incorporated and combined for its protection; and that all devices either by contract or terrorism, or otherwise, to obstruct and set aside this right in laboring men are oppressive and in derogation of the rights of an American freeman, and

should be made penal by law. All the great woes upon our country have come because of imported labor. Our fathers made this land the home of the free for all men appreciating our institutions, with energy enough to bring themselves here, and such we welcome. But our country ought never to be a lazar-house for the deportation of the pauper labor of other countries through Government aid, or the importation of the same kind of labor as an instrument with which capital can debase American workmen and women from the proud position they now occupy, by competing with them by imported or convict labor, while at the same time capital asks and receives protection of its interests at the hands of the Government under guise of providing for American labor. This evil, like all others that find birth in the cupidity and selfishness of men, labor demands should be redressed by law. Labor has a right to demand a just share of the profits of its own production.

The future of our country unites with the laboring men in the demand for the liberal support by the United States of the school system of the States for the common-school education of all the children, the same affording a sufficient foundation for the coming generations to acquire due knowledge of their duties as citizens.

Monopoly

That every species of monopoly engenders two classes, the very rich and the very poor, both of which are equally hurtful to a republic, which should give to its people equal rights and equal privileges under the law.

Resolved, That the public lands of the United States were the equal heritage of all its citizens, and should have been held open to the use of all in such quantities only as are needed for the cultivation and improvement by all. Therefore, we view with alarm the absorption of those lands by corporations and individuals in large areas—some of them more than equal to princely domains—and demand of Congress to apply appropriate remedies with a stern hand, so

that the lands of the people may be held by the many and not by the few.

Resolved, That the public lands of the nation are held by the Government in trust for those who make their homes in the United States and who mean to become citizens of the Republic, and we protest against the purchase and monopolization of these lands by corporations and the alien aristocracy of Europe.

Resolved, That all corporate bodies created either in the States or nation for the purpose of performing public duties are public servants, and to be regulated in all their actions by the same power that created them at its own will, and that it is within the power and is the duty of the creator to so govern its creature that by its acts it shall become neither a monopoly nor a burden upon the people, but be their servant and convenience, which is the true test of its usefulness. Therefore, we call upon Congress to exercise great constitutional power for regulating inter-State commerce; to provide that by no contrivance whatever, under forms of law or otherwise, shall discriminating rates and charges for the transportation of freight and travel be made in favor of the few against the many, or enhance the rates of transportation between the producer and the consumer.

The Civil Service

The various offices of the Government belong to the people thereof, who rightfully demand to exercise and fill the same whenever they are fitted by capacity, integrity, and energy, the last two qualifications never to be tested by any scholastic examination. We hold that frequent changes of Federal officials are shown to be necessary, first, to counteract the growing aristocratic tendencies to a caste of life offices; second, experience having shown that all investigation is useless while the incumbent and his associates hold their places. Frequent change of officers is necessary to the discovery and punishment of frauds, peculations, defalcation, and embezzlements of the public money.

Resolved, That we adhere to and affirm the doctrine enunciated and established by Jackson: that the Government alone has the power to establish and issue money for the people; that the issue of the legal-tender note, made by the Government as a method of borrowing money to carry on the war in the exercise of a constitutional power, has become the fixed currency of the United States, equal to coined gold and silver; that neither policy nor duty calls for any meddling with it.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

The Republicans of the United States in National Convention assembled renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presidential elections; and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal, and beneficent, the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purpose of our citizens.

The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation; and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the Government, and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration; a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished services in war and peace have endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative, and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

It is the first duty of a good Government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people.

The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people.

We, therefore, demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made not "for revenue only," but that in raising the requisite revenues for the Government such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward and the laboring man his full share in the National prosperity.

Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest.

The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the labor or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep-husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we, therefore, respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duties upon foreign wool in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world; and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of

the General Government; and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-State commerce.

The principle of public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people; and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and the railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a National bureau of labor; the enforcement of the eight-hour law; a wise and judicious system of general legislation by adequate appropriation from the National revenues, wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption; and we favor the settlement of National differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and a desire that all men may be truly free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offence against the spirit of American institutions; and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

Reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments; and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved as far as possible for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-residents or aliens. And we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war; and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled, and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitations contained in the Arrears Act of 1879. So that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of application.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliance with foreign nations, and which gives us the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs—a policy which seeks peace and trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce; and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

Resolved, That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the *bona fide* citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws

as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our Territories, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church; and that the laws so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military, if need be.

The people of the United States in their organized capacity constitute a nation, and not an American federacy of States; the National Government is supreme within the sphere of its National duties; but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care; so that the harmony of our system of Government may be preserved and the Union kept inviolate.

The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns. We denounce the fraud and violence practised by the Democracy in southern States, by which the will of a voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions; and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of fruits of such fraud and violence.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy; and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights.

GREENBACK PLATFORM

1. That we hold the late decision of the Supreme Courts on the legal-tender question to be a full vindication of the theory which our party has always advocated on the right and authority of Congress over the issue of legal-tender notes, and we hereby pledge ourselves to uphold said decision, and to defend the Constitution against alterations or amendments intended to deprive the people of any rights or privileges conferred by that instrument. We demand the issue of such money in sufficient quantities to supply the actual demands of trade and commerce in accordance with the increase of population and

the development of our industries. We demand the substitution of greenbacks for National bank notes, and the prompt payment of the public debt. We want that money which saved our country in time of war and which has given it prosperity and happiness in peace. We condemn the retirement of the fractional currency and the small denominations of greenbacks and demand their restoration. We demand the issue of the hoards of money now locked up in the United States Treasury, by applying them to the payment of the public debt now due.

2. We denounce as dangerous to our Republican institutions those methods and policies of the Democratic and Republican parties which have sanctioned or permitted the establishment of land, railroad, money, and other gigantic monopolies; and we demand such governmental action as may be necessary to take from such monopolies the power they have so corruptly and unjustly usurped, and restore them to the people, to whom they belong.

3. The public lands being the natural inheritance of the people, we denounce that policy which has granted to corporations vast tracts of land, and we demand that immediate and vigorous measures be taken to reclaim from such corporations, for the people's use and benefit, all such land grants as have been forfeited by reason of non-fulfilment of contract, or that may have been wrongfully acquired by corrupt legislation, and that such reclaimed lands and other public domain be henceforth held as a sacred trust, to be granted only to actual settlers in limited quantities; and we also demand that the alien ownership of land, individual or corporate, shall be prohibited.

4. We demand Congressional regulations of inter-State commerce, we denounce "pooling," stock-watering, and discrimination in rates and charges, and demand that Congress shall correct these abuses, even, if necessary, by the construction of National railroad. We also demand the establishment of a Government postal-telegraph system.

5. All private property, all forms of money and obligations to pay money, should bear their just proportion of the taxes. We demand a graduated income tax.

6. We demand the amelioration of the condition of labor by enforcing the sanitary laws in industrial establishments, by the abolition of the convict-labor system, by a rigid inspection of mines and factories, by a reduction of the hours of labor in industrial establishments, by fostering educational institutions, and by abolishing child labor.

7. We condemn all importations of contracted labor, made with a view of reducing to starvation wages the workingmen of this country, and demand laws for its prevention.

8. We insist upon a constitutional amendment reducing the terms of United States Senators.

9. We demand such rules for the government of Congress as shall place all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and take away from committees a veto power greater than that of the President.

10. The question as to the amount of duties to be levied upon various articles of import has been agitated and quarrelled over, and has divided communities for nearly a hundred years. It is not now and never will be settled unless by the abolition of indirect taxation. It is a convenient issue—always raised when the people are excited over abuses in their midst. While we favor a wise revision of the tariff laws, with a view to raising a revenue from the luxuries, rather than necessities, we insist that as an economic question its importance is insignificant as compared with financial issues; for, whereas we have suffered our worst panics under low and also under high tariff, we have never suffered from a panic or seen our factories or workshops closed while the volume of money in circulation was adequate to the needs of commerce. Give our farmers and manufacturers money as cheap as you now give it to our bankers, and they can pay high wages to labor and compete with all the world.

11. For the purpose of testing the sense of the people upon the subject we are in favor of submitting to the people an amendment to the Constitution in favor of suffrage regardless of sex, and also on the subject of the liquor traffic.

12. All disabled soldiers of the late war should be equitably pensioned, and we denounce the policy of keeping a small

army of office-holders whose only business is to prevent, on technical grounds, deserving soldiers from obtaining justice from the Government they helped to save.

13. As our name indicates, we are a National party, knowing no East, no West, no North, no South. Having no sectional prejudices, we can properly place in nomination for the high offices of State as candidates men from any section of the Union.

14. We appeal to all people who believe in our principles to aid us by voice, pen, and votes.

AMERICAN PROHIBITION PLATFORM

We hold:

1. That ours is a Christian and not a heathen nation, and that the God of the Christian Scriptures is the author of civil government.

2. That the Bible should be associated with books of science and literature in all our educational institutions.

3. That God requires and man needs a Sabbath.

4. That we demand the prohibition of the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating drinks.

5. That the charters of all secret lodges granted by our Federal and State legislatures should be withdrawn and their oaths prohibited by law.

6. We are opposed to putting prison labor or depreciated contract labor from foreign countries in competition with free labor to benefit manufacturers, corporations, and speculators.

7. We are in favor of a thorough revision and enforcement of the law concerning patents and inventions for the prevention and punishment of frauds either upon inventors or the general public.

8. We hold to and will vote for woman suffrage.

9. We hold that the civil equality secured to all American citizens by Articles 13, 14, and 15 of our amended National Constitution should be preserved inviolate, and the same equality should be extended to Indians and Chinamen.

10. That international differences should be settled by arbitration.

11. That land and other monopolies should be discouraged.

12. That the General Government should furnish the people with an ample and sound currency.

13. That it should be the settled policy of the Government to reduce the tariffs and taxes as rapidly as the necessities of revenue and vested business interest will allow.

14. That polygamy should be immediately suppressed by law, and that the Republican party is censurable for its long neglect of its duty in respect to this evil.

15. And, finally, we demand for the American people the abolition of Electoral Colleges and a direct vote for President and Vice-President of the United States.

EQUAL RIGHTS PARTY PLATFORM

1. We pledge ourselves, if elected to power, so far as in us lies, to do equal and exact justice to every class of our citizens, without distinction of color, sex, or nationality.

2. We shall recommend that the laws of the several States be so amended that women will be recognized as voters, and their property right made equal with that of the male population, to the end that they may become self-supporting rather than a dependent class.

3. It will be our earnest endeavor to revive the now lagging industries of the country by encouraging and strengthening our commercial relations with other countries, especially with the Central and South American States, whose wealth of productions are now largely diverted to England and other European countries for lack of well-established steamship lines and railroad communications between these countries and our own; encourage exports by an effort to create a demand for our home productions; and to this end we deem that a moderate tariff—sufficient to protect the laboring classes, but not so high as to keep our goods out of the market—as most likely to conserve the best interests of our whole people. That is to

say, we shall avoid as much as possible a high protective tariff on the one hand and free-trade on the other. We shall also endeavor by all laudable means to increase the wages of laboring men and women. Our protective system will be most earnestly exerted to protect the commonwealth of the country from venality and corruption in high places.

4. It will be our earnest effort to see that the solemn contract made with the soldiers of the country on enlistment into the United States service, viz., that if disabled therein they should be pensioned, strictly carried out, and that without unnecessary expense and delay to them; and a re-enactment of the "Arrears Act."

5. We shall discountenance by every legal means the liquor traffic, because its tendency is to demoralize the youth of the land, to lower the standard of morality among the people; and we do not believe that the revenue derived from it would feed and clothe the paupers that it makes, and the money expended on its account in the courts, workhouses, and prisons.

6. We believe that the only solution of the Indian question is, to break up all of their small principalities and chieftainships, that have ever presented the anomaly of small kingdoms scattered through a republic and ever liable to break out in some unexpected locality, and which have been hitherto maintained at such great expense to the Government, and treat the Indian like a rational human being, as we have the negro—make him a citizen, amenable to the laws, and let him manage his own private affairs.

7. That it is but just that every protection granted to citizens of the United States by birth should also be secured to the citizens of the United States by adoption.

8. We shall continue gradually to pay the public debt and to refund the balance, but not in such manner as to curtail the circulating medium of the country so as to embarrass trade, but pledge ourselves that every dollar shall be paid in good time.

9. We oppose monopoly, the tendency of which is to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, as opposed to the genius and welfare of Republican institutions.

10. We shall endeavor to aid in every laudable way the work of educating the masses of the people, not only in book knowledge, but in physical, moral, and social culture, in such a manner as will tend to elevate the standard of American manhood and womanhood — that the individual may receive the highest possible development.

11. We recommend a uniform system of laws for the several States as desirable as far as practicable; and especially the laws relating to the descent of property, marriage, and divorce, and the limitation of contracts.

12. We will endeavor to maintain the peaceable relations which now exist between the various sections of our vast country, and strive to enter into a compact of peace with the other American as well as European nations, in order that the peace which we now enjoy may become perpetual. We believe that war is a relic of barbarism belonging to the past, and should only be resorted to in the direst extremity.

13. That the dangers of a solid South or a solid North shall be averted by a strict regard to the interests of every section of the country, a fair distribution of public offices, and such a distribution of the public funds for the increase of the facilities of inter-commercial relations as will restore the South to her former industrial prestige, develop the exhaustless resources of the West, foster the iron, coal, and woollen interests of the Middle States, and revive the manufactures of the East.

14. We shall foster civil service, believing that a true civil service reform, honestly and candidly administered, will lift us out of the imputation of having become a nation of office-seekers, and have a tendency to develop in candidates for office an earnest desire to make themselves worthy and capable of performing the duties of the office that they desire to fill, and, in order to make the reform a permanent one, recommend that it be engrafted into the Constitution of the United States.

15. It will be the policy of the Equal Rights party to see that the residue of the public domain is parcelled out to actual settlers only, that the honest yeomanry of the land, and especially those who have fought to preserve it, shall enjoy its benefits.

1888

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

The Democratic party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, renews the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith, and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives at the convention of 1884, and indorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last earnest message to Congress as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction, and also indorses the efforts of our Democratic representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation.

Maintenance of the Union

Chief among its principles of party faith are the maintenance of an indissoluble Union of free and indestructible States, now about to enter upon its second century of unexampled progress and renown; devotion to a plan of government regulated by a written Constitution, strictly specifying every granted power and expressly reserving to the States or people the entire ungranted residue of power; the encouragement of a jealous popular vigilance, directed to all who have been chosen for brief terms to enact and execute the laws, and are charged with the duty of preserving peace, insuring equality, and establishing justice.

Right of Suffrage

The Democratic party welcomes an exacting scrutiny of the administration of the executive power, which four years ago was committed to its trust in the selection of Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, but it challenges the most searching scrutiny concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrages of the people. During a most critical period of our financial affairs, resulting from over-taxation, the anomalous condition of our currency,

and a public debt unmaturing, it has, by the adoption of a wise and conservative course, not only averted disaster, but greatly promoted the prosperity of the people.

Homes for the People

It has reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and has reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly 100,000,000 acres of valuable land to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens.

Pensions for the Soldiers

While carefully guarding the interests of the taxpayers and conforming strictly to the principles of justice and equity, it has paid out more for pensions and bounties to the soldiers and sailors of the Republic than was ever paid before during an equal period.

Foreign Policy

It has adopted and consistently pursued a firm and prudent foreign policy, preserving peace with all nations while scrupulously maintaining all the rights and interests of our own Government and people at home and abroad. The exclusion from our shores of Chinese laborers has been effectually secured under the provisions of a treaty, the operation of which has been postponed by the action of a Republican majority in the Senate.

Civil Service Reform

Honest reform in the civil service has been inaugurated and maintained by President Cleveland, and he has brought the public service to the highest standard of efficiency, not only by rule and precept, but by the example of his own untiring and unselfish administration of public affairs.

Rights of the People

In every branch and department of the Government under Democratic control the rights and the welfare of all the people have been guarded and defended; every public interest has been protected, and the equality of all our citizens before the law without regard to race or color has been steadfastly maintained. Upon its record thus exhibited and upon the pledge of a continuance to the people of these benefits, the Democracy invokes a renewal of popular trust by the re-election of a Chief Magistrate who has been faithful, able, and prudent. We invoke in addition to that trust the transfer also to the Democracy of the entire legislative power.

Taxation

The Republican party, controlling the Senate and resisting in both Houses of Congress a reformation of unjust and unequal tax laws which have outlasted the necessities of war and are now undermining the abundance of a long peace, deny to the people equality before the law and the fairness and the justice which are their right. Then the cry of American labor for a better share in the rewards of industry is stifled with false pretences, enterprise is fettered and bound down to home markets, capital is discouraged with doubt, and unequal, unjust laws can neither be properly amended nor repealed. The Democratic party will continue with all the power confided to it the struggle to reform these laws in accordance with the pledges of its last platform, indorsed at the ballot-box by the suffrages of the people.

Of all the industrious freemen of our land, the immense majority, including every tiller of the soil, gain no advantage from excessive tax laws, but the price of nearly everything they buy is increased by the favoritism of an unequal system of tax legislation. All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy that by such taxation the cost of the necessities of life should be unjustifiably increased to all our people. Judged by Democratic principles,

the interests of the people are betrayed when, by unnecessary taxation, trusts and combinations are permitted to exist, which while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens by depriving them of the benefits of natural competition.

National Surplus

Every Democratic rule of governmental action is violated when, through unnecessary taxation, a vast sum of money far beyond the needs of an economical administration is drawn from the people and the channels of trade and accumulated as a demoralizing surplus in the National Treasury. The money now lying idle in the general Treasury, resulting from superfluous taxation, amounts to more than one hundred and twenty-five millions, and the surplus collected is reaching the sum of more than sixty millions annually. Debauched by this immense temptation, the remedy of the Republican party is to meet and exhaust by extravagant appropriation and expenses, whether constitutional or not, the accumulation of extravagant taxation. The Democratic policy is to enforce frugality in public expense and abolish unnecessary taxation.

Tariff Reform

Our established domestic industries and enterprises should not and need not be endangered by the reduction and correction of the burdens of taxation. On the contrary, a fair and careful revision of our tax laws, with due allowance for the difference between the wages of American and foreign labor, must promote and encourage every branch of such industries and enterprises by giving them assurance of an extended market and steady and continuous operations. In the interests of American labor, which should in no event be neglected, the revision of our tax laws contemplated by the Democratic party should promote the advantage of such labor by cheapening the cost of necessities of life in the home of every workman, and at the same time securing to him steady and remunerative employment. Upon this question of tariff

reform, so closely concerning every phase of our National life, and upon every question involved in the problem of good government, the Democratic party submits its principles and professions to the intelligent suffrages of the American people.

Reduction of Revenue

Resolution presented by Mr. Scott, of Pennsylvania :

" *Resolved*, That this convention hereby indorses and recommends the early passage of the bill for the reduction of the revenue now pending in the House of Representatives."

Admittance of Territories

Resolution presented by Mr. Lehmann, of Iowa :

" *Resolved*, That a just and liberal policy should be pursued in reference to the Territories; that right of self-government is inherent in the people and guaranteed under the Constitution; that the Territories of Washington, Dakota, Montana, and New Mexico are by virtue of population and development entitled to admission into the Union as States, and we unqualifiedly condemn the course of the Republican party in refusing Statehood and self-government to their people."

Foreign Self-Government

Resolution presented by ex-Governor Leon Abbett, of New Jersey :

" *Resolved*, That we express our cordial sympathy with the struggling people of all nations in their efforts to secure for themselves the inestimable blessings of self-government and civil and religious liberty, and we especially declare our sympathy with the efforts of those noble patriots who, led by Gladstone and Parnell, have conducted their grand and peaceful contest for home rule in Ireland."

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their delegates in National Convention, pause on the threshold of their proceedings to honor the memory of their first great

leader, the immortal champion of liberty and the rights of the people—Abraham Lincoln; and to cover also with wreaths of imperishable remembrance and gratitude the heroic names of our later leaders who have more recently been called away from our councils—Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Logan, Conkling. May their memories be faithfully cherished. We also recall with our greetings, and with prayer for his recovery, the name of one of our living heroes, whose memory will be treasured in the history both of Republicans and of the Republic—the name of that noble soldier and favorite child of victory, Philip H. Sheridan.

In the spirit of those great leaders, and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican party, we send fraternal congratulation to our fellow-Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents. We earnestly hope that we may soon congratulate our fellow-citizens of Irish birth upon the peaceful recovery of home rule for Ireland.

Free Suffrage

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the National Constitution and to the indissoluble Union of the States; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the Constitution; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our Republican Government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority. We charge that the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Protection to American Industries

We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills bill as destructive to the general business, the labor and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican representatives in Congress in opposing its passage.

Duties on Wool

We condemn the proposition of the Democratic party to place wool on the free list, and we insist that the duties thereon shall be adjusted and maintained so as to furnish full and adequate protection to that industry.

The Internal Revenue

The Republican party would effect all needed reduction of the National revenue by repealing the taxes upon tobacco, which are an annoyance and burden to agriculture, and the tax upon spirits used in the arts and for mechanical purposes, and by such revision of the tariff laws as will tend to check imports of such articles as are produced by our people, the production of which gives employment to our labor, and release from import duties those articles of foreign production (except luxuries) the like of which cannot be produced at home. If there shall still remain a larger revenue than is requisite for the wants of the Government, we favor the entire repeal of internal taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system, at the joint behests of the whiskey trusts and the agents of foreign manufactures.

Foreign Contract Labor

We declare our hostility to the introduction into this country of foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, alien to our civilization and our Constitution, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the existing laws against it, and favor such immediate legislation as will exclude such labor from our shores.

Combinations of Capital

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress and the State legislatures, in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

Homes for the People

We reaffirm the policy of appropriating the public lands of the United States to be homesteads for American citizens and settlers, not aliens, which the Republican party established in 1862, against the persistent opposition of the Democrats in Congress, and which has brought our great Western domain into such magnificent development. The restoration of unearned railroad land grants to the public domain for the use of actual settlers, which was begun under the administration of President Arthur, should be continued. We deny that the Democratic party has ever restored one acre to the people, but declare that by the joint action of the Republicans and Democrats about 50,000,000 of acres of unearned lands originally granted for the construction of railroads have been restored to the public domain, in pursuance of the conditions inserted by the Republican party in the original grants. We charge the

Democratic administration with failure to execute the laws securing to settlers title to their homesteads, and with using appropriations made for that purpose to harass innocent settlers with spies and prosecutions under the false pretence of exposing frauds and vindicating the law.

Home Rule in Territories

The government by Congress of the Territories is based upon necessity only, to the end that they may become States in the Union; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence, and morality are such as to insure a stable local Government therein, the people of such Territories should be permitted, as a right inherent in them; the right to form for themselves constitutions and State governments, and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for Statehood, all officers thereof should be selected from the *bona fide* residents and citizens of the Territory wherein they are to serve.

Admittance of South Dakota

South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a State in the Union, under the Constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily indorse the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills, is a wilful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate for acts to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota, and Montana Territories to form constitutions and establish State governments should be passed without unnecessary delay. The Republican party pledges itself to do all in its power to facilitate the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arizona to the enjoyment of self-government as States, such of them as are now qualified, as soon as possible, and the others as soon as they may become so.

Mormonism

The political power of the Mormon Church in the Territories as exercised in the past is a menace to free institutions, a danger no longer to be suffered. Therefore we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignty of the nation in all Territories where the same is questioned, and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power, and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

Bi-Metallism

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

Reduction of Letter Postage

We demand the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce.

Free Schools

In a Republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us a free nation; therefore the State or nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common-school education.

Army and Navy Fortifications

We earnestly recommend that prompt action be taken by Congress in the enactment of such legislation as will best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine,

and we protest against the passage by Congress of a free-ship bill, as calculated to work injustice to labor by lessening the wages of those engaged in preparing materials as well as those directly employed in our shipyards. We demand appropriations for the early rebuilding of our navy; for the construction of coast fortifications and modern ordnance and other approved modern means of defence for the protection of our defenceless harbors and cities; for the payment of just pensions to our soldiers; for the necessary works of National importance in the improvement of harbors and the channels of internal, coastwise, and foreign commerce; for the encouragement of the shipping interests of the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific States, as well as for the payment of the maturing public debt. This policy will give employment to our labor, activity to our various industries, increase the security of our country, promote trade, open new and direct markets for our produce, and cheapen the cost of transportation. We affirm this to be far better for our country than the Democratic policy of loaning the Government's money without interest to "pet banks."

The Monroe Doctrine

The conduct of foreign affairs by the present administration has been distinguished by its inefficiency and its cowardice. Having withdrawn from the Senate all pending treaties effected by Republican administrations for the removal of foreign burdens and restrictions upon our commerce and for its extension into better markets, it has neither effected nor proposed any others in their stead. Professing adherence to the Monroe Doctrine, it has seen with idle complacency the extension of foreign influence in Central America and of foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction, or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua Canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine and of our National influence in Central and South America, and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and farther coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

Protection of our Fisheries

We arraign the present Democratic administration for its weak and unpatriotic treatment of the fisheries question, and its pusillanimous surrender of the essential privileges to which our fishing vessels are entitled in Canadian ports under the treaty of 1818, the reciprocal maritime legislation of 1830, and the comity of nations, and which Canadian fishing vessels receive in the ports of the United States. We condemn the policy of the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress toward our fisheries as unfriendly and conspicuously unpatriotic, and as tending to destroy a valuable National industry and an indispensable resource of defence against a foreign enemy. The name of American applies alike to all citizens of the Republic and imposes upon all alike the same obligation of obedience to the laws. At the same time that citizenship is and must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it, and protect him, whether high or low, rich or poor, in all his civil rights. It should and must afford him protection at home, and follow and protect him abroad in whatever land he may be on a lawful errand.

Civil Service Reform

The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884 and continue to adhere to the Democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom, of purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs, or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: "The reform of the civil service auspiciously begun under the Republican administration should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be

repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectually avoided."

Pensions for the Soldiers

The gratitude of the nation to the defenders of the Union cannot be measured by laws. The legislation of Congress should conform to the pledge made by a loyal people, and be so enlarged and extended as to provide against the possibility that any man who honorably wore the Federal uniform should become the inmate of an almshouse, or dependent upon private charity. In the presence of an overflowing Treasury it would be a public scandal to do less for those whose valorous service preserved the Government. We denounce the hostile spirit of President Cleveland in his numerous vetoes of measures for pension relief, and the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing even a consideration of general pension legislation.

In support of the principles herewith enunciated, we invite the co-operation of patriotic men of all parties, and especially of all workingmen, whose prosperity is seriously threatened by the free-trade policy of the present administration.

Resolution Relating to Prohibition

Offered by Mr. Boutelle, of Maine :

" The first concern of all good government is the virtue and sobriety of the people and the purity of their homes. The Republican party cordially sympathizes with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality."

PROHIBITION PLATFORM

" **PREAMBLE :** The Prohibition party, in National Convention assembled, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all power in government, do hereby declare :

" 1. That the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation, and sale of alcoholic beverages should be made public crimes and prohibited as such.

" 2. That such prohibition must be secured through amendments of our National and State constitutions, enforced by adequate laws adequately supported by administrative authority; and to this end the organization of the Prohibition party is imperatively demanded in State and nation.

" 3. That any form of license, taxation, or regulation of the liquor traffic is contrary to good government; that any party which supports regulation license, or taxation, enters into alliance with such traffic and becomes the actual foe of the State's welfare; and that we arraign the Republican and Democratic parties for their persistent attitude in favor of the license iniquity, whereby they oppose the demand of the people for prohibition, and, through open complicity with the liquor crime, defeat the enforcement of law.

Internal-Revenue System

" 4. For the immediate abolition of the internal revenue system, whereby our National Government is deriving support from our greatest National vice.

Import Duties

" 5. That an adequate public revenue being necessary, it may be properly raised by import duties and imposed on such articles of import as will give protection both to the manufacturing employer and producing laborer against the competition of the world; but import duties should be so reduced that no surplus should be accumulated in the Treasury, and that the burdens of taxation shall be removed from foods, clothing, and other comforts and necessities of life.

Right of Suffrage

" 6. That the right of suffrage rests on no mere accident of race, color, sex, or nationality; and that where, from any cause, it has been withheld from citizens who are of suitable age and mentally and morally qualified for the exercise of an

intelligent ballot, it should be restored by the people through the legislatures of the several States on such educational basis as they may deem wise.

Civil Service

" 7. That civil service appointment for all civil offices, chiefly clerical in their duties, should be based upon moral, intellectual, and physical qualifications, and not upon party service or party necessity.

Marriage Laws

" 8. For the abolition of polygamy and the establishment of uniform laws governing marriage and divorce.

Monopolies

" 9. For prohibiting all combinations of capital to control and to increase the cost of products for popular consumption.

Observation of Sabbath

" 10. For the preservation and defence of the Sabbath as a civil institution, without oppressing any who religiously observe the same on any other than the first day of the week.

Arbitration

" 11. That arbitration is the Christian, wise, and economic method of settling National differences, and the same method should, by judicious legislation, be applied to the settlement of disputes between large bodies of employes and their employers.

Labor Reform

" That the abolition of the saloon would remove burdens, moral, physical, pecuniary, and social, which now oppress labor and rob it of its earnings, and would prove to be a wise

and successful way of promoting labor reform; and we invite labor and capital to unite with us for the accomplishment thereof. That monopoly in land is a wrong to the people, and the public land should be reserved to actual settlers; and that men and women should receive equal wages for equal work.

Laws of Immigration

"12. That our immigration laws should be so enforced as to prevent the introduction into our country of all convicts, inmates of other dependent institutions and all others physically incapacitated for self-support; and that no person should have the ballot in any State who is not a citizen of the United States.

Prohibition as a National Issue

"Recognizing and declaring that prohibition of the liquor traffic has become the dominant issue in National politics, we invite to full party fellowship all who on this one dominant issue are with us agreed in full belief that this party can and will remove sectional differences, and promote National unity, and insure the best welfare of our entire land."

UNION LABOR PLATFORM

General discontent prevails on the part of the wealth producers. Farmers are suffering from a poverty which has forced most of them to mortgage their estates, and the prices of products are so low as to offer no relief except through bankruptcy, and laborers are sinking into greater dependence. Strikes are resorted to without relief because of the inability of employers in many cases to pay living wages, while more and more are driven into the street. Business men find collections almost impossible, and meantime hundreds of millions of idle public money which is needed for relief is locked up in the United States Treasury or placed without interest in

avored banks in grim mockery of distress. Land monopoly flourishes as never before, and more owners of the soil are daily becoming tenants. Great transportation corporations still succeed in extorting their profits on watered stock through unjust charges. The United States Senate has become an open scandal, its membership being purchased by the rich in open defiance of the popular will. Various efforts are made to squander the public money, which are designed to empty the Treasury without paying the public debt. Under these and other alarming conditions we appeal to the people of our country to come out of old party organizations, whose indifference to the public welfare is responsible for this distress, and aid the Union Labor party to repeal existing class legislation and relieve the distress of our industries by establishing the following principles :

Land

" While we believe that the proper solution of the financial question will greatly relieve those now in danger of losing their homes by mortgages and foreclosures, and enable all industrious persons to secure a home as the highest result of civilization, we oppose land monopoly in every form, demand the forfeiture of unearned grants, the limitation of land ownership, and such other legislation as will stop speculations in lands and holding it unused from those whose necessities require it.

" We believe the earth was made for the people, and not to enable an idle aristocracy to subsist through rents upon the toil of the industrious, and that corners in land are as bad as corners in food, and that those who are not residents or citizens should not be allowed to own lands in the United States. A homestead should be exempt to a limited extent from execution or taxation.

Transportation

" The means of communication and transportation shall be owned by the people, as is the United States postal service.

Money

"The establishment of a National monetary system in the interest of the producer, instead of the speculator and usurer, by which the circulating medium, in necessary quantity and full legal tender, shall be issued directly to the people, without the intervention of banks, or loaned to citizens upon land security at a low rate of interest, to relieve them from extortions of usury and enable them to control the money supply. Postal savings banks should be established. While we have free coinage of gold, we should have free coinage of silver. We demand the immediate application of all the money in the United States Treasury to the payment of the bonded debt, and condemn the further issue of interest-bearing bonds, either by the National Government or by States, Territories, or municipalities.

Labor

"Arbitration should take the place of strikes and other injurious methods of settling labor disputes. The letting of contract labor to contractors should be prohibited, the contract system be abolished in public works, the hours of labor in industrial establishments be reduced, commensurate with the increased production by labor-saving machinery, employees protected from bodily injury, equal pay for equal work for both sexes, and labor, agricultural, and co-operative associations fostered and encouraged by law. The foundation of a republic is in the intelligence of its citizens, and children who are driven into workshops, mines, and factories are deprived of the education which should be secured to all by proper legislation.

Pensions

"We demand the passage of a service pension bill to every honorably discharged soldier and sailor of the United States.

Income Tax

"A graduated income tax is the most equitable system of taxation, placing the burden of Government on those who

can best afford to pay, instead of laying it on the farmers and producers, and exempting millionaire bondholders and corporations.

United States Senate

"We demand a constitutional amendment making United States Senators elective by a direct vote of the people.

Contract Labor

"We demand the strict enforcement of laws prohibiting the importation of subjects of foreign countries under contract.

Chinese

"We demand the passage and enforcement of such legislation as will absolutely exclude the Chinese from the United States.

Woman Suffrage

"The right to vote is inherent in citizenship, irrespective of sex, and is properly within the province of State legislation.

Paramount Issues

"The paramount issues to be solved in the interests of humanity are the abolition of usury, monopoly, and trusts, and we denounce the Democratic and Republican parties for creating and perpetuating these monstrous evils."

UNITED LABOR PLATFORM

We, the delegates of the United Labor Party of the United States in National Convention assembled, hold that the corruptions of Government and the impoverishment of the masses result from neglect of self-evident truths proclaimed by the founders of this Republic, that all men are created equal and are endowed with inalienable rights. We aim at the abolition of the system which compels men to pay their fellow-creatures

for the use of the common bounties of nature, and permits monopolizers to deprive labor of natural opportunities for employment.

Farming Lands

We see access to farming land denied to labor except on payment of exorbitant rent or the acceptance of mortgage burdens, and labor, thus forbidden to employ itself, driven into the cities. We see the wage-workers of the cities subjected to this unnatural competition and forced to pay an exorbitant share of their scanty earnings for cramped and unhealthy lodgings. We see the same intense competition condemning the great majority of business and professional men to a bitter and often unavailing struggle to avoid bankruptcy, and that while the price of all that labor produces ever falls, the price of land ever rises. We trace these evils to a fundamental wrong—the making of the land on which all must live the exclusive property of but a portion of the community. To this denial of natural rights are due want of employment, low wages, business depressions, that intense competition which makes it so difficult for the majority of men to get a comfortable living, and that wrongful distribution of wealth which is producing the millionaire on one side and the tramp on the other.

Taxation of Land

To give all men an interest in the land of their country; to enable all to share in the benefits of social growth and improvement; to prevent the shutting out of labor from employment by the monopolization of natural opportunities; to do away with the one-sided competition which cuts down wages to starvation rates; to restore life to business and prevent periodical depressions; to do away with that monstrous injustice which deprives producers of the fruits of their toil while idlers grow rich; to prevent the conflicts which are arraying class against class, and which are fraught with menacing

dangers to society, we propose so to change the existing system of taxation that no one shall be taxed on the wealth he produces, nor any one suffered to appropriate wealth he does not produce by taking to himself the increasing values which the growth of society adds to land. What we propose is not the disturbing of any man in his holding or title; but, by taxation of land according to its value and not according to its area, to devote to common use and benefit those values which arise not from the exertion of the individual but from the growth of society, and to abolish all taxes on industry and its products. This increased taxation of land values must, while relieving the working farmer and small homestead owner of the undue burdens now imposed upon them, make it unprofitable to hold land for speculation, and thus throw open abundant opportunities for the employment of labor and the building up of homes.

A Channel for the Surplus

We would do away with the present unjust and wasteful system of finance which piles up hundreds of millions of dollars in treasury vaults while we are paying interest on an enormous debt; and we would establish in its stead a monetary system in which a legal-tender circulating medium should be issued by the Government without the intervention of banks.

Government Railroads and Telegraphs

We wish to abolish the present unjust and wasteful system of ownership of railroads and telegraphs by private corporations—a system which, while failing to supply adequately public needs, impoverishes the farmer, oppresses the manufacturer, hampers the merchant, impedes travel and communication, and builds up enormous fortunes and corrupting monopolies that are becoming more powerful than the Government itself. For this system we would substitute Government ownership and control for the benefit of the whole people instead of private profit.

Measures of Relief

While declaring the foregoing to be the fundamental principles and aims of the United Labor Party, and while conscious that no reform can give effectual and permanent relief to labor that does not involve the legal recognition of equal rights to natural opportunities, we, nevertheless, as measures of relief from some of the evil effects of ignoring those rights, favor such legislation as may tend to reduce the hours of labor, to prevent the employment of children of tender years, to avoid the competition of convict labor with honest industry, to secure the sanitary inspection of tenements, factories, and mines, and to put an end to the abuse of conspiracy laws.

Our Court Laws and Expenses

We desire also to so simplify the procedure of our courts and diminish the expense of legal proceedings that the poor may therein be placed on an equality with the rich, and the long delays which now result in scandalous miscarriages of justice may be prevented.

The Australian Voting System

Since the ballot is the only means by which in our Republic the redress of political and social grievances is to be sought, we especially and emphatically declare for the adoption of what is known as the Australian system of balloting, in order that the effectual secrecy of the ballot, and the relief of candidates for public office from the heavy expenses now imposed upon them, may prevent bribery and intimidation, do away with practical discriminations in favor of the rich and unscrupulous, and lessen the pernicious influence of money in politics.

Corruption of Political Parties

We denounce the Democratic and Republican parties as hopelessly and shamelessly corrupt, and, by reason of their

affiliation with monopolies, equally unworthy of the suffrages of those who do not live upon public plunder; we therefore require of those who would act with us that they sever all connection with both.

In support of these aims, we solicit the co-operation of all patriotic citizens who, sick of the degradation of politics, desire by constitutional methods to establish justice, to preserve liberty, to extend the spirit of fraternity, and to elevate humanity.

1892

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

SECTION 1. The representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, do reaffirm their allegiance to the principles of the party as formulated by Jefferson and exemplified by the long and illustrious line of his successors in Democratic leadership, from Madison to Cleveland; we believe the public welfare demands that these principles be applied to the conduct of the Federal Government, through the accession to power of the party that advocates them; and we solemnly declare that the need of a return to these fundamental principles of a free popular government, based on home rule and individual liberty, was never more urgent than now, when the tendency to centralize all power at the Federal Capital has become a menace to the reserved rights of the States that strikes at the very roots of our Government, under the Constitution, as framed by the Fathers of the Republic.

Federal Control of Elections

SECTION 2. We warn the people of our common country, jealous for the preservation of their free institutions, that the policy of Federal control of elections, to which the Republican party has committed itself, is fraught with the gravest dangers, scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution practically establishing monarchy on the ruins of the Republic.

It strikes at the North as well as at the South, and injures the colored citizens even more than the white; it means a horde of deputy marshals at every polling place armed with Federal power; returning boards appointed and controlled by Federal authority; the outrage of the electoral rights of the people in the several States; the subjugation of the colored people to the control of the party in power, and the reviving of race antagonisms, now happily abated, of the utmost peril to the safety and happiness of all, a measure deliberately and justly described by a leading Republican Senator as "the most infamous bill that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate." Such a policy, if sanctioned by law, would mean the dominance of a self-perpetuating oligarchy of office-holders, and the party first entrusted with its machinery could be dislodged from power only by an appeal to the reserved rights of the people to resist oppression, which is inherent in all self-governing communities. Two years ago this revolutionary policy was emphatically condemned by the people at the polls; but in contempt of that verdict the Republican party has defiantly declared in its latest authoritative utterance that its success in the coming elections will mean the enactment of the Force bill and the usurpation of despotic control over elections in all the States.

Believing that the preservation of Republican government in the United States is dependent upon the defeat of this policy of legalized force and fraud, we invite the support of all citizens who desire to see the Constitution maintained in its integrity with the laws pursuant thereto which have given our country a hundred years of unexampled prosperity, and we pledge the Democratic party, if it be entrusted with power, not only to the defeat of the Force bill, but also to relentless opposition to the Republican policy of profligate expenditure which, in the short space of two years, has squandered an enormous surplus, emptied an overflowing Treasury, after piling new burdens of taxation upon the already overtaxed labor of the country.

SECTION 3. We denounce Republican protection as a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the

benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for the purposes of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the Government when honestly and economically administered.

We denounce the McKinley tariff law enacted by the Fifty-first Congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; we endorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption, and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party. Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been ten reductions of the wages of the laboring man to one increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since that tariff went into operation, and we point to the dulness and distress, to the wage reductions and strikes in the iron trade, as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley Act.

We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact, that after thirty years of restrictive taxes against the importation of foreign wealth in exchange for our agricultural surplus, the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real-estate-mortgage debt of over two thousand five hundred million dollars, exclusive of all other forms of indebtedness; that in one of the chief agricultural States of the West there appears a real-estate-mortgage debt averaging \$165 per capita of the total population, and that similar conditions and tendencies are shown to exist in the other agricultural exporting States. We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of sheriff.

Reciprocity

SECTION 4. Trade interchange on the basis of reciprocal advantages to the countries participating is a time-honored

doctrine of the Democratic faith, but we denounce the sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost exclusively agricultural products with other countries that are also agricultural, while erecting a custom-house barrier of prohibitive tariff taxes against the richest and the countries of the world that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products, and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessities and comforts of life among our own people.

Trusts and Combinations

SECTION 5. We recognize in the trusts and combinations which are designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint product of capital and labor a natural consequence of the prohibitive taxes which prevent the free competition which is the life of honest trade, but we believe their worst evils can be abated by law, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws made to prevent and control them, together with such further legislation in restraint of their abuses as experience may show to be necessary.

Public Land

SECTION 6. The Republican party, while professing a policy of reserving the public land for small holdings by actual settlers, has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. The last Democratic administration reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people, nearly 100,000,000 acres of valuable land to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens, and we pledge ourselves to continue this policy until every acre of land so unlawfully held shall be reclaimed and restored to the people.

Gold and Silver

SECTION 7. We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman Act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and laboring classes, the first and most defenceless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

Tax on State Banks

SECTION 8. We recommend that the prohibitory 10 per cent. tax on State bank issues be repealed.

Civil Service

SECTION 9. Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the Democratic National Convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent Republican convention, by delegations composed largely of his appointees, holding office at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions, and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which Federal office-holders usurp control of party conventions in the States, and we pledge the Democratic party to

the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government.

Foreign Policy

SECTION 10. The Democratic party is the only party that has ever given the country a foreign policy consistent and vigorous, compelling respect abroad and inspiring confidence at home. While avoiding entangling alliances, it has aimed to cultivate friendly relations with other nations, and especially with our neighbors on the American continent, whose destiny is closely linked with our own, and we view with alarm the tendency to a policy of irritation and bluster, which is liable at any time to confront us with the alternative of humiliation or war. We favor the maintenance of a navy strong enough for all purposes of national defence, and to properly maintain the honor and dignity of the country abroad.

Sympathy for the Oppressed

SECTION 11. This country has always been the refuge of the oppressed from every land—exiles for conscience' sake—and, in the spirit of the founders of our Government, we condemn the oppression practiced by the Russian Government upon its Lutheran and Jewish subjects, and we call upon our National Government, in the interest of justice and humanity, by all just and proper means, to use its prompt and best efforts to bring about a cessation of these cruel persecutions in the dominions of the Czar, and to secure to the oppressed equal rights.

We tender our profound and earnest sympathy to those lovers of freedom who are struggling for home rule and the great cause of local self-government in Ireland.

Immigration

SECTION 12. We heartily approve all legitimate efforts to prevent the United States from being used as the dumping-ground for the known criminals and professional paupers of

Europe, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws against Chinese immigration, or the importation of foreign workmen under contract to degrade American labor and lessen its wages, but we condemn and denounce any and all attempts to restrict the immigration of the industrious and worthy of foreign lands.

Pensions

SECTION 13. This convention hereby renews the expression of appreciation of the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of the Union in the war for its preservation, and we favor just and liberal pensions for all disabled Union soldiers, their widows and dependents, but we demand that the work of the Pension Office shall be done industriously, impartially, and honestly. We denounce the present administration of that office as incompetent, corrupt, disgraceful, and dishonest.

Waterways

SECTION 14. The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to the tide water.

When any waterway of the public is of sufficient importance to demand the aid of the Government, that such aid should be extended with a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

Nicaragua Canal

SECTION 15. For purposes of National defences and the promotion of commerce between the States, we recognize the early construction of the Nicaragua Canal and its protection against foreign control as of great importance to the United States.

World's Fair

SECTION 16. Recognizing the World's Columbian Exposition as a National undertaking of vast importance in which the

General Government has invited the co-operation of all the powers of the world, and appreciating the acceptance by many of such powers of the invitation so extended, and the broadest liberal efforts being made by them to contribute to the grandeur of the undertaking, we are of the opinion that Congress should make such necessary financial provision as shall be requisite to the maintenance of the National honor and public faith.

Education

SECTION 17. Popular education being the only safe basis of popular suffrage, we recommend to the several States most liberal appropriations for the public schools. Free common schools are the nursery of good government and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education, being an essential of civil and religious liberty as well as a necessity for the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to State interference with parental rights and rights of conscience in the education of children as an infringement of the fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government.

Admission of Territories

SECTION 18. We approve the action of the present House of Representatives in passing bills for the admission into the Union as States of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having necessary population and resources to admit them to Statehood, and, while they remain Territories, we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the Districts of Columbia and Alaska, should be *bona fide* residents of the Territory or District in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule and the control of their own affairs by the people of the vicinage.

Protection of Railway Employees

SECTION 19. We favor legislation by Congress and State legislatures to protect the lives and limbs of railway employees and those of other hazardous transportation companies, and denounce the inactivity of the Republican party, and particularly the Republican Senate, for causing the defeat of measures beneficial and protective to this class of wage-workers.

Sweating System

SECTION 20. We are in favor of the enactment by the States of laws for abolishing the notorious sweating system; for abolishing contract convict labor and for prohibiting the employment in factories of children under fifteen years of age.

Sumptuary Laws

SECTION 21. We are opposed to all sumptuary laws as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen.

Changes

SECTION 22. Upon this statement of principles and policies the Democratic party asks the intelligent judgment of the American people. It asks a change of administration and a change of party, in order that there may be a change of system and a change of methods, thus assuring the maintenance unimpaired of institutions under which the Republic has grown great and powerful.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

The platform of the Tenth National Republican Convention at Minneapolis, adopted June 9, 1892, is as follows :

The representatives of the Republicans of the United States assembled in general convention on the shores of the Mississippi River, the everlasting bond of an indestructible Republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the

Republican party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1838, vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops, and mines, and makes the following declaration of principles :

The Principle of Protection

We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the last Republican Congress. We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home.

We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the Tariff Act of 1890.

We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws by piecemeal as manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead, and lead ores, the chief product of a number of States, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

Triumph of Reciprocity

We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which our export trade has vastly increased and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops. We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

Free and Safe Coinage of Gold and Silver

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of

both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its workmen, demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by our Government to secure an international conference to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

Freedom of the Ballot

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign-born, white or black, this sovereign right guaranteed by the Constitution. The free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people, as well as their just and equal protection under the laws, are the foundation of our Republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every State.

Outrages in the South

We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated upon American citizens for political reasons in certain southern States of the Union.

Extension of Foreign Commerce

We favor the extension of our foreign commerce, the restoration of our mercantile marine by home-built ships and the creation of a navy for the protection of our National interests

and the honor of our flag; the maintenance of the most friendly relations with all foreign powers; entangling alliance with none, and the protection of the rights of our fishermen.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine and believe in the achievement of the manifest destiny of the Republic in its broadest sense.

We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulation of the restriction of criminal, pauper, and contract immigration.

Employees of Railroads

We favor efficient legislation by Congress to protect the life and limbs of employees of transportation companies engaged in carrying on interstate commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective States that will protect employees engaged in State commerce, in mining and manufacturing.

Championing the Oppressed

The Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed, and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color, or nationality. It sympathizes with the cause of home rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

Freedom of Thought and Speech

The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among all men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience of speech and press, and approve its agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land; but while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of church and state.

Trusts Condemned

We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations or capital organized in

trusts or otherwise to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily endorse the action already taken upon this subject and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

Free-Delivery Service

We approve the policy of extending to towns, villages, and rural communities the advantages of the free-delivery service now enjoyed by the larger cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888, pledging the reduction of letter postage to one cent at the earliest possible moment consistent with the maintenance of the Post-Office Department and the highest class of postal service.

Spirit of Civil-Service Reform

We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service, and the wise and consistent enforcement by the Republican party of the laws regulating the same.

The Nicaragua Canal

The construction of the Nicaragua Canal is of the highest importance to the American people as a measure of defence and to build up and maintain American commerce, and it should be controlled by the United States Government.

Territories

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable day, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States.

Federal Territorial Officers

All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from *bona fide* residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

Arid Lands

We favor cession, subject to the homestead laws, of the arid public lands to the States and Territories in which they lie under such Congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation, and occupancy by settlers as will secure the maximum benefits to the people.

The Columbian Exposition

The World's Columbian Exposition is a great National undertaking, and Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid thereof as will insure a discharging of the expense and obligations incident thereto and attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the nation.

Sympathy for Temperance

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

Pledges to the Veterans

Ever mindful of the services and sacrifices of the men who saved the life of the nation, we pledge anew to the veterans of the soldiers of the Republic a watchful care and a just recognition of their just claims upon a grateful people.

Harrison's Administration Commended

We commend the able, patriotic, and thoroughly American administration of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity, and the dignity and honor of the nation, at home and abroad, have been faithfully maintained, and we offer the record of pledges kept as a guarantee of faithful performance in the future.

PROHIBITION PLATFORM

The Prohibition party, in National Convention assembled, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all true government, and His law as the standard to which all human nature

must conform to secure the blessings of peace and prosperity, presents the following declaration of principles :

Liquor Traffic

1. The liquor traffic is a foe to civilization, the arch-enemy of popular government, and a public nuisance. It is the citadel of the forces that corrupt politics, promote poverty and crime, degrade the nation's home-life, thwart the will of the people, and deliver our country into the hands of rapacious class-interests. All laws that under the guise of regulation legalize and protect this traffic, or make the Government share its ill-gotten gains, are "vicious in principle and powerless as a remedy."

We declare anew for the entire suppression of the manufacture, sale, importation, exportation, and transportation of alcoholic liquors as a beverage by Federal and State legislation, and the full powers of the Government should be exerted to secure this result. Any party that fails to recognize the dominant nature of this issue in American politics is undeserving of the support of the people.

Suffrage

2. No citizen should be denied the right to vote on account of sex, and equal labor should receive equal wages without regard to sex.

Money

3. The money of the country should consist of gold, silver, and paper, and be issued by the General Government only in sufficient quantities to meet the demands of business and give full opportunity for the employment of labor. To this end an increase in the volume of money is demanded, and no individual or corporation should be allowed to make any profit through its issue. It should be made a legal tender for the payment of all debts, public and private. Its volume should be fixed at a definite sum per capita, and made to increase with our increase in population.

Tariff

4. Tariff should be levied only as a defence against the foreign governments which levy tariff upon or bar out our products from their markets, revenue being incidental. The residue of means necessary to an economical administration of the Government should be raised by levying a burden on what the people possess instead of upon what we consume.

Government Control

5. Railroad, telegraph, and other public corporations should be controlled by the Government in the interest of the people, and no higher charges allowed than necessary to give fair interest on the capital actually invested.

Immigration

6. Foreign immigration has become a burden upon industry, one of the factors in depressing wages and causing discontent; therefore our immigration laws should be revised and strictly enforced. The time of residence for naturalization should be extended and no naturalized person should be allowed to vote until one year after he becomes a citizen.

Alien Ownership

7. Non-resident aliens should not be allowed to acquire land in this country, and we favor the limitation of individual and corporate ownership of land. All unearned grants of lands to railroad companies or other corporations should be reclaimed.

Mob Laws

8. Years of inaction and treachery on the part of the Republican and Democratic parties have resulted in the present reign of mob law, and we demand that every citizen be protected in the right of trial by constitutional tribunals.

Sabbath

9. All men should be protected by law in their right to one day's rest in seven.

Arbitration

10. Arbitration is the wisest and most economical and humane method of settling National differences.

Margins, Trusts, and Combines

11. Speculation in margins, the cornering of grain, money, and products, and the formation of pools, trusts, and combinations for the arbitrary advancement of prices should be suppressed.

Pensions

12. We pledge that the Prohibition party, if elected to power, will ever grant just pensions to disabled veterans of the Union army and navy, their widows and orphans.

Public Schools

13. We stand unequivocally for the American public school, and are opposed to any appropriation of any public moneys for sectarian schools. We declare that only by united support of such common schools, taught in the English language, can we hope to become and remain an homogeneous and harmonious people.

National Issues

14. We arraign the Republican and Democratic parties as false to the standards reared by their founders; as faithless to the principles of the illustrious leaders of the past to whom they do homage with the lips; as recreant to the "higher law," which is as inflexible in political affairs as in personal life; and as no longer embodying the aspirations of the American people or inviting the confidence of enlightened,

progressive patriotism. Their protest against the admission of "moral issues" into politics is a confession of their own moral degeneracy. The declaration of an eminent authority that municipal misrule is "the one conspicuous failure of American politics" follows as a natural consequence of such degeneracy, and it is true alike of cities under Republican and Democratic control. Each accuses the other of extravagance in Congressional appropriations, and both are alike guilty; both protest when out of power against the infraction of the civil-service laws, and each, when in power, violates those laws in letter and spirit; each professes fealty to the interests of the toiling masses, but both covertly truckle to the money power in their administration of public affairs. Even the tariff issue, as represented in the Democratic Mills bill and the Republican McKinley bill, is no longer treated by them as an issue upon great and divergent principles of government, but is a mere catering to different sectional and class interests. The attempt in many States to wrest the Australian ballot system from its true purpose and to so deform it as to render it extremely difficult for new parties to exercise the rights of suffrage, is an outrage upon popular government. The competition of both the parties for the vote of the slums and their assiduous courting of the liquor power and subserviency to the money power has resulted in placing those powers in the position of practical arbitrators of the destinies of the nation. We renew our protest against these perilous tendencies and invite all citizens to join us in the upbuilding of a party that has shown in five National campaigns that it prefers temporary defeat to an abandonment of the claims of justice, sobriety, personal rights, and the protection of American homes.

Party Fellowship

15. Recognizing and declaring that prohibition of the liquor traffic has become the dominant issue in National politics, we invite to full party fellowship all those who on this one dominant issue are with us agreed, in the full belief that this party

can and will remove sectional differences, promote National unity, and insure the best welfare of our entire land.

World's Fair

Resolved, That we favor a liberal appropriation by the Federal Government for the World's Columbian Exposition, but only on the condition that the sale of intoxicating liquors on the grounds is prohibited and that the Exposition be kept closed on Sunday.

NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PLATFORM

Assembled upon the 116th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the People's party of America, in their first National Convention, invoking upon their action the blessing of Almighty God, puts forth, in the name and on behalf of the people of this country, the following preamble and declaration of principles :

The conditions which surround us best justify our co-operation; we meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized; most of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places to prevent universal intimidation or bribery. The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, our homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection; imported pauperized labor beats down their wages; a hireling army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few unprecedented in the history of mankind, and the possessors of these,

in turn, despise the Republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires.

The National power to create money is appropriated to enrich bondholders; a vast public debt payable in legal-tender currency has been funded into gold-bearing bonds, thereby adding millions to the burdens of the people.

Silver, which has been accepted as coin since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold by decreasing the value of all forms of property as well as human labor, and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprise, and enslave industry. A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and it is rapidly taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once it forebodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization or the establishment of an absolute despotism. We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering people. We charge that the controlling influences dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them.

Neither do they now promise us any substantial reform. They have agreed together to ignore, in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham-battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, National banks, rings, trusts, watered stock, the demonetization of silver, and the oppressions of the usurers may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives, and children on the altar of mammon; to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires. Assembled on the anniversary of the birthday of the nation and filled with the spirit of the grand general chief, who established our independence, we seek to restore the Government of the Republic to the hands of "the plain people" with whose class it originated. We assert our purposes to be identical with the purposes of

the National Constitution, to form a more perfect union and establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity.

We declare that this Republic can only endure as a free Government while built upon the love of the whole people for each other and for the nation; that it cannot be pinned together by bayonets; that the civil war is over and that every passion and resentment which grew out of it must die with it, and that we must be in fact, as we are in name, one united brotherhood. Our country finds itself confronted by conditions for which there is no precedent in the history of the world. Our annual agricultural productions amount to billions of dollars in value, which must within a few weeks or months be exchanged for billions of dollars of commodities consumed in their production; the existing currency supply is wholly inadequate to make this exchange. The results are falling prices, the formation of combines and rings, the impoverishment of the producing class. We pledge ourselves that if given power we will labor to correct these evils by wise and reasonable legislation in accordance with the terms of our platform.

We believe that the powers of Government—in other words, of the people—should be expanded (as in the case of the postal service) as rapidly and as far as the good sense of an intelligent people and the teachings of experience shall justify, to the end that oppression, injustice, and poverty shall eventually cease in the land.

While our sympathies as a party of reform are naturally upon the side of every proposition which will tend to make men intelligent, virtuous, and temperate we nevertheless regard these questions—important as they are—as secondary to the great issues now pressing for solution, and upon which not only our individual prosperity, but the very existence of free institutions depend, and we ask all men to first help us to determine whether we are to have a Republic to administer, before we differ as to the conditions upon which it is to be administered, believing that the forces of reform this day

organized will never cease to move forward until every wrong is righted and equal rights and equal privileges securely established for all the men and women of this country; we declare, therefore,

Union of the People

1. That the union of the labor forces of the United States this day consummated shall be permanent and perpetual; may its spirit enter into all hearts for the salvation of the Republic and the uplifting of mankind ?

2. Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. "If any will not work neither shall he eat." The interests of rural and civic labor are the same; their enemies are identical.

3. We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporation will either own the people or the people must own the railroads, and should the Government enter upon the work of owning and managing all railroads, we should favor an amendment to the Constitution by which all persons engaged in the Government service shall be placed under a civil-service regulation of the most rigid character, so as to prevent the increase of the power of the National administration by the use of such additional Government employees.

The Question of Finance

We demand a National currency, safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the General Government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations, a just, equitable, and efficient means of distribution direct to the people at a tax not to exceed two percent. per annum, to be provided as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, or a better system; also by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one.

We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.

We demand a graduated income tax.

We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all State and National issues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the Government, economically and honestly administered.

We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

Control of Transportation

Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the Government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people.

The telegraph, telephone, like the post-office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the Government in the interest of the people.

Reclaiming the Land

The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs and all lands now owned by aliens should be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only.

***Resolved, 1.* That we demand a free ballot and a fair count in all elections, and pledge ourselves to secure it to every legal voter without Federal intervention through the adoption by the States of the unperturbed Australian secret-ballot system.**

***Resolved, 2.* That the revenue derived from a graduated income tax should be applied to the reduction of the burden of taxation now levied upon the domestic industries of this country.**

***Resolved, 3.* That we pledge our support to fair and liberal pensions to ex-Union soldiers and sailors.**

Resolved, 4. That we condemn the fallacy of protecting American labor under the present system, which opens our ports to the pauper and criminal classes of the world and crowds out our wage-earners, and we denounce the present ineffective law against contract labor, and demand the further restriction of undesirable immigration.

Resolved, 5. That we cordially sympathize with the efforts of organized workmen to shorten the hours of labor, and demand a rigid enforcement of the existing eight-hour law on Government work, and ask that a penalty clause be added to the said law.

Resolved, 6. That we regard the maintenance of a large standing army of mercenaries, known as the Pinkerton system, as a menace to our liberties, and we demand its abolition, and we condemn the recent invasion of the Territory of Wyoming by the hired assassins of plutocracy assisted by Federal officers.

Resolved, 7. That we commend to the thoughtful consideration of the people and the reform press the legislative system known as the initiative and referendum.

Resolved, 8. That we favor a constitutional provision limiting the office of President and Vice-President to one term, and providing for the election of the Senators by a direct vote of the people.

Resolved, 9. That we oppose any subsidy or National aid to any private corporation for any purpose.

1896

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

We, the Democrats of the United States, in National Convention assembled, do reaffirm our allegiance to those great essential principles of justice and liberty upon which our institutions are founded, and which the Democratic party has advocated from Jefferson's time to our own—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, the preservation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law, and the faithful observance of constitutional limitations.

State Rights

During all these years the Democratic party has resisted the tendency of selfish interests to the centralization of governmental power, and steadfastly maintained the integrity of the dual scheme of government established by the founders of this Republic of republics. Under its guidance and teachings the great principle of local self-government has found its best expression in the maintenance of the rights of the States and in its assertion of the necessity of confining the General Government to the exercise of the powers granted by the Constitution of the United States.

The Money Question

Recognizing that the money system is paramount to all others at this time, we invite attention to the fact that the Federal Constitution names silver and gold together as the money metals of the United States, and that the first coinage law passed by Congress under the Constitution made the silver dollar the monetary unit, and admitted gold to free coinage at a ratio based upon the silver-dollar unit.

We declare that the act of 1873 demonetizing silver without the knowledge or approval of the American people has resulted in the appreciation of gold and a corresponding fall in the prices of commodities produced by the people; a heavy increase in the burden of taxation and of all debts, public and private; the enrichment of the money-lending class at home and abroad; prostration of industry and impoverishment of the people.

We are unalterably opposed to gold monometallism, which has locked fast the prosperity of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard times. Gold monometallism is a British policy, and its adoption has brought other nations into financial servitude to London. It is not only un-American but anti-American, and it can be fastened on the United States only by the stifling of that spirit and love of liberty which proclaimed our political independence in 1776 and won it in the war of the Revolution.

Free Silver

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal-tender money by private contract.

We are opposed to the policy and practice of surrendering to the holders of the obligations of the United States the option reserved by law to the Government of redeeming such obligations in either silver coin or gold coin.

Bond Issues

We are opposed to the issuing of interest-bearing bonds of the United States in time of peace, and condemn the trafficking with banking syndicates which, in exchange for bonds and at an enormous profit to themselves, supply the Federal Treasury with gold to maintain the policy of gold monometallism.

Congress alone has the power to coin and issue money, and President Jackson declared that this power could not be delegated to corporations or individuals. We therefore demand that the power to issue notes to circulate as money be taken from the National banks, and that all paper money shall be issued directly by the Treasury Department, be redeemable in coin, and receivable for all debts, public and private.

Tariff for Revenue

We hold that the tariff duties should be levied for purposes of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country and not discriminate between class or section, and that taxation should be limited by the needs of the Government honestly and economically administered. We denounce, as disturbing to business, the Republican threat to restore the McKinley law, which has been twice condemned by the people in National elections,

and which, enacted under the false plea of protection to home industry, proved a prolific breeder of trusts and monopolies, enriched the few at the expense of the many, restricted trade, and deprived the producers of the great American staples of access to their natural markets. Until the money question is settled we are opposed to any agitation for further changes in our tariff laws, except such as are necessary to make the deficit in revenue caused by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court on the income tax.

The Income Tax

There would be no deficit in the revenue but for the annulment by the Supreme Court of a law passed by a Democratic Congress in strict pursuance of the uniform decisions of that court for nearly one hundred years, that court having sustained constitutional objections to its enactment which had been overruled by the ablest judges who have ever sat on that bench! We declare that it is the duty of Congress to use all the constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come by its reversal by the court, as it may hereafter be constituted, so that the burdens of taxation may be equally and impartially laid, to the end that wealth may bear its due proportion of the expenses of the Government.

Immigration

We hold that the most efficient way to protect American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with it in the home market, and that the value of the home market to our American farmers and artisans is greatly reduced by a vicious monetary system, which depresses the prices of their products below the cost of production, and thus deprives them of the means of purchasing the products of our home manufacture.

Congressional Appropriations

We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation, and the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes

high, while the labor that pays them is unemployed, and the products of the people's toil are depressed in price till they no longer repay the cost of production. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which best befit a Democratic Government and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

Federal Interference

We denounce arbitrary interference by Federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United States and a crime against free institutions, and we especially object to government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression, by which Federal judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges, and executioners, and we approve the bill passed at the last session of the United States Senate, and now pending in the House, relative to contempts in Federal courts, and providing for trials by jury in certain cases of contempt.

Pacific Funding Bill

No discrimination should be indulged by the Government of the United States in favor of any of its debtors. We approve of the refusal of the Fifty-third Congress to pass the Pacific Railroad funding bill, and denounce the effort of the present Republican Congress to enact a similar measure.

Pensions

Recognizing the just claims of deserving Union soldiers, we heartily endorse the rule of the present Commissioner of Pensions that no names shall be arbitrarily dropped from the pension roll, and the fact of an enlistment and service should be deemed conclusive evidence against disease or disability before enlistment.

Cuba

We extend our sympathy to the people of Cuba in their heroic struggle for liberty and independence.

The Civil Service

We are opposed to life tenure in the public service. We favor appointments based upon merit, fixed terms of office, and such an administration of the civil-service laws as will afford equal opportunities to all citizens of ascertained fitness.

No Third Term

We declare it to be the unwritten law of this Republic, established by custom and usage of one hundred years, and sanctioned by the examples of the greatest and wisest of those who founded and have maintained our Government, that no man should be eligible for a third term of the Presidential office.

Corporate Wealth

The absorption of wealth by the few, the consolidation of our leading railroad systems, and formation of trusts and pools require a stricter control by the Federal Government of those arteries of commerce. We demand the enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and such restrictions and guarantees in the control of railroads as will protect the people from robbery and oppression.

Admission of Territories

We favor the admission of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona into the Union as States, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories giving the necessary population and resources to entitle them to Statehood; and while they remain Territories we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the District of Columbia and Alaska, should be *bona fide* residents of the Territory or District in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule, and that all public lands of the United States should be appropriated to the establishment of free homes for American citizens.

7. We demand a graduated income tax, to the end that aggregated wealth shall bear its just proportion of taxation, and we denounce the recent decision of the Supreme Court relative to the income-tax law as a misinterpretation of the Constitution and an invasion of the rightful powers of Congress over the subject of taxation.

8. We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

Government Ownership of Railroads and Telegraph

1. Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the Government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people and on non-partisan basis, to the end that all may be accorded the same treatment in transportation, and that the tyranny and political power now exercised by the great railroad corporations, which result in the impairment if not the destruction of the political rights and personal liberties of the citizens, may be destroyed. Such ownership is to be accomplished gradually, in a manner consistent with sound public policy.

2. The interest of the United States in the public highways built with public moneys and the proceeds of extensive grants of land to the Pacific railroads should never be alienated, mortgaged, or sold, but guarded and protected for the general welfare as provided by the laws organizing such railroads. The foreclosure of existing liens of the United States on these roads should at once follow default in the payment of the debt of the companies, and at the foreclosure sales of said roads the Government shall purchase the same if it becomes necessary to protect its interests therein, or if they can be purchased at a reasonable price; and the Government shall operate said railroads as public highways for the benefit of the whole and not in the interest of the few, under suitable provisions for protection of life and property, giving to all transportation interests and privileges and equal rates for fares and freight.

3. We denounce the present infamous schemes for refunding those debts and demand that the laws now applicable

thereto be executed and administered according to their true intent and spirit.

4. The telegraph, like the post-office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the Government in the interest of the people.

Land, Homes, and Pacific Railroad Grants

1. The true policy demands that the National and State legislation shall be such as will ultimately enable every prudent and industrious citizen to secure a home, and therefore the land should not be monopolized for speculative purposes.

All lands now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs should by lawful means be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only, and private land monopoly, as well as alien ownership, should be prohibited.

2. We condemn the frauds by which the land grant to the Pacific Railroad Companies have, through the connivance of the Interior Department, robbed multitudes of *bona fide* settlers of their homes and miners of their claims, and we demand legislation by Congress which will enforce the exemption of mineral land from such grants after as well as before patent.

3. We demand that *bona fide* settlers on all public lands be granted free homes, as provided in the National homestead law, and that no exception be made in the case of Indian reservations when opened for settlement, and that all lands not now patented come under this demand.

Direct Legislation and General Planks

We favor a system of direct legislation through the initiative and referendum under proper constitutional safeguards.

We demand the election of President, Vice-President, and United States Senators by a direct vote of the people.

We tender to the patriotic people of Cuba our deepest sympathy in their heroic struggle for political freedom and independence, and we believe the time has come when the United States, the great Republic of the world, should recognize that

Cuba is and of right ought to be a free and independent State.

We favor home rule in the Territories and the District of Columbia and the early admission of the Territories as States.

All public salaries should be made to correspond to the price of labor and its products.

In times of great industrial depression idle labor should be employed on public works as far as practicable.

The arbitrary course of the courts in assuming to imprison citizens for indirect contempt and ruling by injunction should be prevented by proper legislation.

We favor just pensions for our disabled Union soldiers.

Believing that the elective franchise and untrammelled ballot are essential to a government of, for, and by the people, the People's Party condemn the wholesale system of disfranchisement adopted in some States as unrepugnant and undemocratic, and we declare it to be the duty of the several State legislatures to take such action as will secure a full, free, and fair ballot and an honest count.

Financial Question "The Pressing Issue"

While the foregoing propositions constitute the platform upon which our party stands, and for the vindication of which its organization will be maintained, we recognize that the great and pressing issue of the pending campaign, upon which the present Presidential election will turn, is the financial question, and upon this great and specific issue between the parties we cordially invite the aid and co-operation of all organizations and citizens agreeing with us upon this vital question.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their representatives in National Convention, appealing for the popular and historical justification of their claims to the matchless achievements of the thirty years of Republican rule, earnestly and confidently address themselves to the awakened intelligence, experience, and conscience of their countrymen in the following declaration of facts and principles:

For the first time since the civil war the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the Government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out ordinary current expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt by \$262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, pawned American credit to alien syndicates, and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule.

In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise, and crippled American production while stimulating foreign production for the American market. Every consideration of public safety and individual interest demands that the Government shall be rescued from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable to conduct it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad, and shall be restored to the party which for thirty years administered it with unequalled success and prosperity, and in this connection we heartily endorse the wisdom, patriotism, and the success of the administration of President Harrison.

Tariff

We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry; it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producer; it upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingman; it puts the factory by the side of the farm, and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign demand and price; it diffuses general thrift, and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its

reasonable application it is just, fair, and impartial; equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism.

We denounce the present Democratic tariff as sectional, injurious to the public credit, and destructive to business enterprise. We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the Government, but will protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question to be governed by the conditions of the time and of production; the ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry. The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest.

Reciprocity

We believe the repeal of the reciprocity arrangements negotiated by the last Republican administration was a National calamity, and we demand their renewal and extension on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, remove the restrictions which now obstruct the sale of American products in the ports of other countries, and secure enlarged markets for the products of our farms, forests, and factories.

Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy and go hand in hand. Democratic rule has recklessly struck down both, and both must be re-established. Protection for what we produce; free admission for the necessities of life which we do not produce; reciprocity agreements of mutual interests which again open markets for us in return for our open markets to others. Protection builds up domestic industry and trade and secures our own market for ourselves; reciprocity builds up foreign trade, and finds an outlet for our surplus.

We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere, and to the ultimate

union of all English-speaking parts of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants.

Sugar

We condemn the present administration for not keeping faith with the sugar producers of this country. The Republican party favors such protection as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use, and for which they pay other countries more than \$100,000,000 annually.

Wool and Woollens

To all our products—to those of the mine and the fields as well as to those of the shop and the factory—to hemp, to wool, the product of the great industry of sheep husbandry, as well as to the finished woollens of the mills—we promise the most ample protection.

Merchant Marine

We favor restoring the American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine and the protection of our shipping in the foreign carrying trade, so that American ships—the product of American labor, employed in American shipyards, sailing under the Stars and Stripes, and manned, officered, and owned by Americans—may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce.

Finance

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold.

We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver except by

international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

Pensions

The veterans of the Union army deserve and should receive fair treatment and generous recognition. Whenever practicable they should be given the preference in the matter of employment, and they are entitled to the enactment of such laws as are best calculated to secure the fulfilment of the pledges made to them in the dark days of the country's peril. We denounce the practice in the Pension Bureau, so recklessly and unjustly carried on by the present administration, of reducing pensions and arbitrarily dropping names from the rolls as deserving the severest condemnation of the American people.

Foreign Relations

Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous, and dignified, and all our interests in the Western Hemisphere carefully watched and guarded. The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them; the Nicaraguan Canal should be built, owned, and operated by the United States; and by the purchase of the Danish Islands we should secure a proper and much-needed naval station in the West Indies.

Armenian Massacres

The massacres in Armenia have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can

properly exert to bring these atrocities to an end. In Turkey American residents have been exposed to the gravest dangers and American property destroyed. There and everywhere American citizens and American property must be absolutely protected at all hazards and at any cost.

Monroe Doctrine

We reassert the Monroe Doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeal of any American State for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment. We have not interfered and shall not interfere with the existing possessions of any European power in this hemisphere, but these possessions must not on any pretext be extended.

Cuba

From the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American people to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.

The Government of Spain, having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

The Navy

The peace and security of the Republic and the maintenance of its rightful influence among the nations of the earth demand a naval power commensurate with its position and responsibility. We therefore favor the continued enlargement of the navy and a complete system of harbor and seacoast defences.

Foreign Immigration

For the protection of the quality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor, we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly enforced and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write.

Civil Service

The civil-service law was placed on the statute book by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable.

Free Ballot

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast.

Lynchings

We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized and barbarous practice well known as lynching or killing of human beings suspected or charged with crime without process of law.

National Arbitration

We favor the creation of a National board of arbitration to settle and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employees engaged in interstate commerce.

Homesteads

We believe in an immediate return to the free-homestead policy of the Republican party, and urge the passage by Congress of a satisfactory free-homestead measure such as has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate.

Territories

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from *bona fide* residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

Alaska

We believe the citizens of Alaska should have representation in the Congress of the United States, to the end that needful legislation may be intelligently enacted.

Temperance

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

Rights of Women

The Republican party is mindful of the rights and interests of women. Protection of American industries includes equal opportunities, equal pay for equal work, and protection to the home. We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness, and welcome their co-operation in rescuing the country from Democratic and Populistic mismanagement and misrule.

Such are the principles and policies of the Republican party. By these principles we will abide and these policies we will put into execution. We ask for them the considerate judgment of the American people. Confident alike in the history of our great party and in the justice of our cause, we present our platform and our candidates in the full assurance that the election will bring victory to the Republican party and prosperity to the people of the United States.

SILVER PARTY PLATFORM

The National Silver Party in Convention assembled hereby adopts the following declaration of principles:

First. The paramount issue at this time in the United States is indisputably the money question. It is between the gold standard, gold bonds, and bank currency on the one side and the bimetallic standard, no bonds, and Government currency on the other.

On this issue we declare ourselves to be in favor of a distinctively American financial system. We are unalterably opposed to the single gold standard, and demand the immediate return to the constitutional standard of gold and silver, by the restoration by this Government, independently of any foreign power, of the unrestricted coinage of both gold and silver into standard money at the ratio of sixteen to one, and upon terms of exact equality, as they existed prior to 1873; the silver coin to be a full legal tender equally with gold for all debts and dues, private and public, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal-tender money by private contract.

We hold that the power to control and regulate a paper currency is inseparable from the power to coin money, and hence that all currency intended to circulate as money should be issued, and its volume controlled by the General Government only, and should be legal tender.

We are unalterably opposed to the issue by the United States of interest-bearing bonds in time of peace, and we denounce as a blunder worse than a crime the present Treasury policy, concurred in by a Republican House, of plunging the country in debt by hundreds of millions in the vain attempt to maintain the gold standard by borrowing gold, and we demand the payment of all coin obligations of the United States as provided by existing laws, in either gold or silver coin, at the option of the Government and not at the option of the creditor.

The demonetization of silver in 1873 enormously increased the demand for gold, enhancing its purchasing power and lowering all prices measured by that standard; and since that unjust and indefensible act the prices of American products have fallen upon an average nearly fifty per cent., carrying down with them proportionately the money value of all other forms of property. Such fall of prices has destroyed the

profits of legitimate industry, injuring the producer for the benefit of the non-producer, increasing the burden of the debtor, swelling the gains of the creditor, paralyzing the productive energies of the American people, relegating to idleness vast numbers of willing workers, sending the shadows of despair into the home of the honest toiler, filling the land with tramps and paupers, and building up colossal fortunes at the money centres.

In the effort to maintain the gold standard the country has within the last two years, in a time of profound peace and plenty, been loaded down with \$262,000,000 of additional interest-bearing debt, under such circumstances as to allow a syndicate of native and foreign bankers to realize a net profit of millions on a single deal.

It stands confessed that the gold standard can only be upheld by so depleting our paper currency as to force the prices of our product below the European and even below the Asiatic level to enable us to sell in foreign markets, thus aggravating the very evils our people so bitterly complain of, degrading American labor, and striking at the foundations of our civilization itself.

The advocates of the gold standard persistently claim that the cause of our distress is over-production; that we have produced so much that it has made us poor — which implies that the true remedy is to close the factory, abandon the farm, and throw a multitude of people out of employment, a doctrine that leaves us unnerved and disheartened, and absolutely without hope for the future.

We affirm it to be unquestioned that there can be no such economic paradox as over-production, and at the same time tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens remaining half-clothed and half-fed, and who are piteously clamoring for the common necessities of life.

Second. That over and above all other questions of policy we are in favor of restoring to the people of the United States the time-honored money of the Constitution—gold and silver, not one, but both—the money of Washington and Hamilton and Jefferson and Monroe and Jackson and Lincoln, to the

end that the American people may receive honest pay for an honest product; that the American debtor may pay his just obligations in an honest standard, and not in a standard that has depreciated 100 per cent. above all the great staples of our country, and to the end further that the standard countries may be deprived of the unjust advantage they now enjoy in the difference in exchange between gold and silver—an advantage which tariff legislation alone cannot overcome.

We therefore confidently appeal to the people of the United States to leave in abeyance for the moment all other questions, however important and even momentous they may appear, to sunder, if need be, all former party ties and affiliations, and unite in one supreme effort to free themselves and their children from the domination of the money power—a power more destructive than any which has ever been fastened upon the civilized men of any race or in any age, and upon the consummation of our desires and efforts we invoke the gracious favor of Divine Providence.

Inasmuch as the patriotic majority of the Chicago convention embodied in the financial plank of its platform the principles enunciated in the platform of the American Bimetallic party, promulgated at Washington, D. C., January 22, 1896, and herein reiterated, which is not only the paramount but the only real issue in the pending campaign, therefore, recognizing that their nominees embody these patriotic principles, we recommend that this convention nominate William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, for President, and Arthur Sewall, of Maine, for Vice-President.

PROHIBITION PLATFORM

We, the members of the Prohibition Party, in National Convention assembled, renewing our declaration of allegiance to Almighty God, as the rightful ruler of the universe, lay down the following as our declaration of political purpose:

The Prohibition Party, in National Convention assembled, declares its firm conviction that the manufacture, exportation, importation, and sale of alcoholic beverages, has produced

such social, commercial, industrial, and political wrongs, and is now so threatening the perpetuity of all our social and political institutions, that the suppression of the same by a National party organized therefor, is the greatest object to be accomplished by the voters of our country, and is of such importance that it, of right, ought to control the political actions of all our patriotic citizens until such suppression is accomplished.

The urgency of this course demands the union without further delay of all citizens who desire the prohibition of the liquor traffic, therefore be it

Resolved, That we favor the legal prohibition by State and National legislation of the manufacture, importation, and sale of alcoholic beverages. That we declare our purpose to organize and unite all the friends of prohibition into one party, and in order to accomplish this end we deem it of right to leave every Prohibitionist the freedom of his own convictions upon all other political questions, and trust our representatives to take such action upon other political questions as the changes occasioned by prohibition and the welfare of the whole people shall demand.

NATIONAL PARTY PLATFORM

The National Party, recognizing God as the author of all just power in government, presents the following declaration of principles, which it pledges itself to enact into effective legislation when given the power to do so:

1. The suppression of the manufacture and sale, importation, exportation, and transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. We utterly reject all plans for regulating or compromising with this traffic, whether such plans be called local option, taxation, license, or public control. The sale of liquors for medicinal and other legitimate uses should be conducted by the State, without profit, and with such regulations as will prevent fraud or evasion.

2. No citizen should be denied the right to vote on account of sex.

3. All money should be issued by the General Government

only, and without the intervention of any private citizen, corporation, or banking institution. It should be based upon the wealth, stability, and integrity of the nation. It should be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and should be of sufficient volume to meet the demands of the legitimate business interests of the country. For the purpose of honestly liquidating our outstanding coin obligations, we favor the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold, at the ratio of sixteen to one, without consulting any other nation.

4. Land is the common heritage of the people and should be preserved from monopoly and speculation. All unearned grants of land, subject to forfeiture, should be reclaimed by the Government and no portion of the public domain should hereafter be granted except to actual settlers, continuous use being essential to tenure.

5. Railroads, telegraphs, and other natural monopolies should be owned and operated by the Government, giving to the people the benefit of service at actual cost.

6. The National Constitution should be so amended as to allow the National revenues to be raised by equitable adjustment of taxation on the properties and incomes of the people, and import duties should be levied as a means of securing equitable commercial relations with other nations.

7. The contract convict-labor system, through which speculators are enriched at the expense of the State, should be abolished.

8. All citizens should be protected by law in their right to one day of rest in seven, without oppressing any who conscientiously observe any other than the first day of the week.

9. American public schools, taught in the English language, should be maintained, and no public funds should be appropriated for sectarian institutions.

10. The President, Vice-President, and United States Senators should be elected by direct vote of the people.

11. Ex-soldiers and sailors of the United States army and navy, their widows, and minor children, should receive liberal pensions, graded on disability and term of service, not merely

as a debt of gratitude, but for service rendered in the preservation of the Union.

12. Our immigration laws should be so revised as to exclude paupers and criminals. None but citizens of the United States should be allowed to vote in any State, and naturalized citizens should not vote until one year after naturalization papers have been issued.

13. The initiative and referendum and proportional representation should be adopted.

14. Having herein presented our principles and purposes, we invite the co-operation and support of all citizens who are with us substantially agreed.

SOCIALIST LABOR PLATFORM

The Socialist Labor party of the United States, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable rights of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American Republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty, and of happiness.

With the founders of this Republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our Democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of Government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises, and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of its wealth which it alone

produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We therefore call upon the wage-workers of the United States, and upon all honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers, so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation, and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the co-operative commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war, and social disorder, a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all modern factors of civilization.

Resolutions

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.

2. The United States shall obtain possession of the railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones, and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employes to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal Government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employe shall be discharged for political reasons.

3. The municipalities shall obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, waterworks, gasworks, electric plants, and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employes to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employe shall be discharged for political reasons.

4. The public lands declared inalienable. Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals the conditions of which have not been complied with.

5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.

7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.

8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.

9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous, and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.

10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy, and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.

11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict-labor contract system.

12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, State, or nation).

13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United

States. Equalization of women's wages to those of men where equal service is performed.

14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.

15. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance according to the referendum principle.

16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (National, State, or municipal), wherever it exists.

17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.

18. Municipal self-government.

19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed, or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.

20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.

21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.





APPENDIX B

KENTUCKY AND VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS OF 1798

Reaffirmed in the Democratic Platform of 1856

KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS, NOVEMBER, 1798

1. *Resolved*, That the several States composing the United States of America are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their General Government, but that, by compact, under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States and of Amendments thereto, they constituted a General Government for special purposes, delegated to that Government certain definite powers, reserving each State to itself the residuary mass of right to their own self-government; and that whensoever the General Government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthorized, void, and of no force: That to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming as to itself the other party: That the Government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final *judge* of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its power; but that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.

2. That the Constitution of the United States having delegated to Congress a power to punish treason, counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States, piracies

and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the laws of the nations, and no other crimes whatever, and it being true as a general principle, and one of the amendments to the Constitution having also declared, "that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people"; therefore, also the same act of Congress, passed on the 14th day of July, 1798, and entitled, "An act in addition to the act entitled 'an act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States,' as also the act passed by them on the 27th day of June, 1798, entitled 'An act to punish frauds committed on the Bank of the United States'" (and all other their acts which assume to create, define, or punish crimes other than those enumerated in the Constitution), are altogether void and of no force, and that the power to create, define, and punish such other crimes is reserved, and of right appertains solely and exclusively, to the respective States, each within its own territory.

3. That it is true as a general principle, and is also expressly declared by one of the amendments to the Constitution, that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people"; and that no power over the freedom of religion, freedom of speech, or freedom of the press, being delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, all lawful powers respecting the same did of right remain, and were reserved to the States or to the people: That thus was manifested their determination to retain to themselves the right of judging how far the licentiousness of speech and of the press may be abridged without lessening their useful freedom, and how far those abuses which cannot be separated from their use should be tolerated rather than the use be destroyed; and thus, also, they guarded all abridgment by the United States of the freedom of religious opinions and exercises, and retained to themselves the right of protecting the same, as this State, by a law passed on the general demand of the citizens, had already protected them from all human restraint or interference. And

that, in addition to this general principle and express declaration, another and more special provision has been made by one of the amendments to the Constitution, which expressly declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press," thereby guarding in the same sentence, and under the same words, the freedom of religion, of speech, and of the press, insomuch that whatever violates either throws down the sanctuary which covers the others, and that libels, falsehoods, and defamation, equally with heresy and false religion, are withheld from the cognizance of Federal tribunals: That therefore the act of Congress of the United States, passed on the 14th day of July, 1798, entitled "An act in addition to the act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States," which does abridge the freedom of the press, is not law, but is altogether void and of no effect.

4. That alien friends are under the jurisdiction and protection of the laws of the State wherein they are; that no power over them has been delegated to the United States nor prohibited to the individual States distinct from their power over citizens; and it being true as a general principle, and one of the amendments to the Constitution having also declared that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people," the act of the Congress of the United States, passed on the 22d day of June, 1798, entitled, "An act concerning aliens," which assumes power over alien friends not delegated by the Constitution, is not law, but is altogether void and of no force.

5. That in addition to the general principle as well as the express declaration that powers not delegated are reserved, another and more special provision inserted in the Constitution from abundant caution has declared, "that the *migration* or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808." That this Commonwealth does admit the migration of alien friends described as the subject of the

said act concerning aliens; that a provision against prohibiting their migration is a provision against all acts equivalent thereto, or it would be nugatory; that to remove them when migrated is equivalent to a prohibition of their migration, and is therefore contrary to the said provision of the Constitution, and void.

6. That the imprisonment of a person under the protection of the laws of this Commonwealth, on his failure to obey the simple *order* of the President to depart out of the United States, as is undertaken by the said act, entitled "An act concerning aliens," is contrary to the Constitution, one amendment to which has provided that "no person shall be deprived of liberty without due process of law," and that another having provided that "in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a public trial by an impartial jury, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence," the same act undertaking to authorize the President to remove a person out of the United States who is under the protection of the law, on his own suspicion, without accusation, without jury, without public trial, without confrontation of the witnesses against him, without having witnesses in his favor, without defence, without counsel, is contrary to these provisions also of the Constitution, is therefore not law, but utterly void and of no force. That transferring the power of judging any person, who is under the protection of the laws, from the courts to the President of the United States, as is undertaken by the same act concerning aliens, is against the article of the Constitution which provides that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in courts, the judges of which shall hold their offices during good behavior"; and that the said act is void for that reason also; and it is further to be noted that this transfer of judiciary power is to that magistrate of the General Government who already possesses all the executive and a qualified negative in all the legislative powers.

7. That the construction applied by the General Government

(as is evinced by sundry of their proceedings) to those parts of the Constitution of the United States which delegate to Congress a power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts, and to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States, and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, or any department thereof, goes to the destruction of all limits prescribed to their power by the Constitution. That words meant by that instrument to be subsidiary only to the execution of the limited powers ought not to be so construed as themselves to give unlimited powers, nor a part so to be taken as to destroy the whole residue of the instrument; that the proceedings of the General Government, under color of these articles, will be a fit and necessary subject for revisal and correction at a time of great tranquillity, while those specified in the preceding resolutions call for immediate redress.

8. That the preceding resolutions be transmitted to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this Commonwealth, who are hereby enjoined to present the same to their respective houses, and to use their best endeavors to procure, at the next session of Congress, a repeal of the aforesaid unconstitutional and obnoxious acts.

9. *Lastly*, That the Governor of this Commonwealth be, and is hereby, authorized and requested to communicate the preceding resolutions to the legislatures of the several States, to assure them that this Commonwealth considers union for specified national purposes, and particularly for those specified in their late Federal compact, to be friendly to the peace, happiness, and prosperity of all the States; that faithful to that compact according to the plain intent and meaning in which it was understood and acceded to by the several parties, it is sincerely anxious for its preservation; that it does also believe that to take from the States all the powers of self-government, and transfer them to a general and consolidated government, without regard to the special obligations and reservations solemnly agreed to in that compact, is not for the

peace, happiness, or prosperity of these States. And that therefore this Commonwealth is determined, as it doubts not its co-States are, tamely to submit to undelegated and consequently unlimited powers in no man or body of men on earth; that if the acts before specified should stand, these conclusions would flow from them: that the General Government may place any act they think proper on the list of crimes, and punish it themselves, whether enumerated or not enumerated by the Constitution as cognizable by them; that they may transfer its cognizance to the President or any other person, who may himself be the accuser, counsel, judge, and jury, whose *suspensions* may be the evidence, his order the sentence, his office the executioner, and his breast the sole record of the transaction; that a very numerous and valuable description of the inhabitants of these States, being by this precedent reduced as outlaws to the absolute dominion of one man, and the barrier of the Constitution thus swept away from us all, no rampart now remains against the passions and the power of a majority of Congress to protect from a like exportation or other more grievous punishment the minority of the same body, the legislatures, judges, governors, and counsellors of the States, nor their other peaceable inhabitants who may venture to reclaim the constitutional rights and liberties of the States and people, or who for other causes, good or bad, may be obnoxious to the views, or marked by the suspicions of the President, or be thought dangerous to his or their elections or other interests, public or personal; that the friendless alien has indeed been selected as the safest subject of a first experiment; but the citizen will soon follow, or rather has already followed; for already has a sedition act marked him as its prey; that these and successive acts of the same character, unless arrested on the threshold, may tend to drive these States into revolution and blood, and will furnish new calumnies against Republican Governments, and new pretexts for those who wish it to be believed that man cannot be governed but by a rod of iron; that it would be a dangerous delusion, were a confidence in the men of our choice to silence our fears for the safety of our rights; that confidence is everywhere

the parent of despotism; free government is founded in jealousy and not in confidence; it is jealousy and not confidence which prescribes limited constitutions to bind down those whom we are obliged to trust with power; that our Constitution has accordingly fixed the limits to which and no further our confidence may go; and let the honest advocate of confidence read the Alien and Sedition acts, and say if the Constitution has not been wise in fixing limits to the Government it created, and whether we should be wise in destroying those limits. Let him say what the Government is if it be not a tyranny, which the men of our choice have conferred on the President, and the President of our choice has assented to and accepted over the friendly strangers, to whom the mild spirit of our country and its laws had pledged hospitality and protection; that the men of our choice have more respected the bare suspicions of the President than the solid rights of innocence, the claims of justification, the sacred force of truth, and the forms and substance of law and justice. In questions of power, then, let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution. That this Commonwealth does therefore call on its co-States for an expression of their sentiments on the acts concerning aliens, and for the punishment of certain crimes hereinbefore specified, plainly declaring whether these acts are or are not authorized by the Federal compact. And it doubts not that their sense will be so announced as to prove their attachment unaltered to limited government, whether general or particular, and that the rights and liberties of their co-States will be exposed to no dangers by remaining embarked on a common bottom with their own; that they will concur with this Commonwealth in considering the said acts as so palpably against the Constitution as to amount to an undisguised declaration that the compact is not meant to be the measure of the powers of the General Government, but that it will proceed in the exercise over these States of all powers whatsoever; that they will view this as seizing the rights of the States, and consolidating them in the hands of the General Government with a power assumed to bind the

States (not merely in cases made Federal), but in all cases whatsoever, by laws made, not with their consent, but by others against their consent; that this would be to surrender the form of government we have chosen, and to live under one deriving its powers from its own will, and not from our authority; and that the co-States, recurring to their natural right in cases not made Federal, will concur in declaring these acts void and of no force, and will each unite with this Commonwealth in requesting their repeal at the next session of Congress.





APPENDIX C

VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS, DECEMBER, 1798

1. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly of Virginia doth unequivocally express a firm resolution to maintain and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of this State against every aggression, either foreign or domestic, and that they will support the Government of the United States in all measures warranted by the former.

2. That this Assembly most solemnly declares a warm attachment to the Union of the States, to maintain which it pledges its powers; and that, for this end, it is their duty to watch over and oppose every infraction of those principles which constitute the only basis of that Union, because a faithful observance of them can alone secure its existence and the public happiness.

3. That this Assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare that it views the powers of the Federal Government as resulting from the compact to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that, in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the said compact, the States who are parties thereto have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them.

4. That the General Assembly doth also express its deep

regret that a spirit has, in sundry instances, been manifested by the Federal Government to enlarge its powers by forced constructions of the constitutional charter which defines them; and that indications have appeared of a design to expound certain general phrases (which, having been copied from the very limited grant of powers in the former Articles of Confederation, were the less liable to be misconstrued) so as to destroy the meaning and effect of the particular enumeration which necessarily explains and limits the general phrases, and so as to consolidate the States, by degrees, into one sovereignty, the obvious tendency and inevitable result of which would be to transform the present Republican system of the United States into an absolute, or at best a mixed monarchy.

5. That the General Assembly doth particularly protest against the palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution in the two late cases of the " Alien and Sedition acts " passed at the last session of Congress, the first of which exercises a power nowhere delegated to the Federal Government, and which, by uniting legislative and judicial powers to those of executive, subverts the general principles of free government, as well as the particular organization and positive provisions of the Federal Constitution; and the other of which acts exercises, in like manner, a power not delegated by the Constitution, but, on the contrary, expressly and positively forbidden by one of the amendments thereto — a power which, more than any other, ought to produce universal alarm because it is levelled against the right of freely examining public characters and measures, and of free communication among the people thereon, which has ever been justly deemed the only effectual guardian of every other right.

6. That this State, having by its convention, which ratified the Federal Constitution, expressly declared that, among other essential rights, " the liberty of conscience and the press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained, or modified by any authority of the United States," and from its extreme anxiety to guard these rights from every possible attack of sophistry and ambition — having, with other States, recommended an amendment for that purpose, which amendment was in due

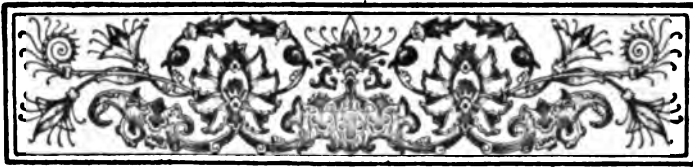
time annexed to the Constitution — it would mark a reproachful inconsistency and criminal degeneracy if an indifference were shown to the most palpable violation of one of the rights thus declared and secured, and to the establishment of a precedent which may be fatal to the other.

7. That the good people of this Commonwealth having ever felt, and continuing to feel, the most sincere affection for their brethren of the other States, the truest anxiety for establishing and perpetuating the union of all, and the most scrupulous fidelity to that Constitution, which is the pledge of mutual friendship and the instrument of mutual happiness, the General Assembly doth solemnly appeal to the like dispositions in the other States, in confidence that they will concur with this Commonwealth in declaring, as it does hereby declare, that the acts aforesaid are unconstitutional, and that the necessary and proper measures will be taken by each for co-operating with this State in maintaining unimpaired the authorities, rights, and liberties reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

8. That the Governor be desired to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to the executive authority of each of the other States, with a request that the same may be communicated to the Legislature thereof, and that a copy be furnished to each of the Senators and Representatives representing this State in the Congress of the United States.

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APPENDIX D

The following tables show the popular vote in the various States at the past four Presidential elections, and will indicate the States of comparative stability, the relative changes, and the development and growth of the Populist party.

ALABAMA

1884	1888	1892	1896
Dem..... 92,973	Dem..... 117,320	Dem..... 138,138	Dem..... 130,307
Rep..... 59,144	Rep..... 57,197	People's... 85,181	Rep..... 54,334
Dem. pl'y. 33,829	Dem. pl'y. 60,123	Dem. pl'y. 52,957	Gold Dem.. 6,462
Greenback 762	Prohib'n.. 593	Rep..... 9,197	Prohib'n... 2,167
		Prohib'n.. 230	Dem. maj.. 67,344

ARKANSAS

Dem..... 72,927	Dem..... 85,962	Dem..... 87,834	Dem..... 110,103
Rep..... 50,895	Rep..... 59,752	Rep..... 46,884	Rep..... 37,512
Dem. pl'y. 22,032	Dem. pl'y. 26,210	Dem. pl'y. 40,950	Dem. pl'y.. 72,591
Greenback 1,847	Prohib'n.. 612	People's... 11,831	Prohib'n... 839
		Prohib'n.. 113	

CALIFORNIA

Rep..... 102,416	Rep..... 124,816	Dem..... 118,174	Rep..... 146,161
Dem..... 89,288	Dem..... 117,729	Rep..... 118,027	Dem..... 143,373
Rep. pl'y.. 13,128	Rep. pl'y.. 7,087	Dem. pl'y. 147	Rep. pl'y.. 2,788
Greenback 2,017	Prohib'n.. 5,761	Pop..... 25,311	Gold Dem. 1,730
Prohib'n.. 2,920		Prohib'n.. 8,096	Prohib'n... 2,523
			Nat. Peop.. 1,046
			Soc. Labor. 1,611

COLORADO

Rep..... 36,166	Rep..... 50,831	Fusion (Dem. and	Dem..... 161,153
Dem..... 27,603	Dem..... 37,345	People's) 53,584	Rep..... 26,271
Rep. pl'y.. 8,563	Rep. pl'y.. 13,486	Rep..... 38,626	Dem. pl'y.. 134,882
Greenback 1,916	Greenback 1,266	Fus'n pl'y. 14,958	Prohib'n... 1,717
Prohib'n.. 762	Prohib'n.. 2,190	Prohib'n.. 1,638	Nat. Peop.. 386
			Soc. Labor. 159
			Gold Dem. 1

CONNECTICUT

1884	1888	1892	1896
Dem..... 67,167	Dem..... 74,920	Dem..... 82,395	Rep..... 110,285
Rep..... 65,893	Rep..... 74,584	Rep..... 77,025	Dem..... 56,740
Dem. pl'y. 1,274	Dem. pl'y. 336	Dem. pl'y. 5,370	Gold Dem.. 4,334
Greenback 1,684	U. Labor. 240	People's... 806	Prohib'n... 1,808
Prohib'n.. 2,489	Prohib'n.. 4,231	Prohib'n.. 4,025	Rep. maj.. 47,403

DELAWARE

Dem..... 16,964	Dem..... 39,561	Dem..... 18,518	Rep..... 16,804
Rep..... 12,951	Rep..... 26,657	Rep..... 18,083	Dem..... 13,424
Dem. pl'y. 4,013	Dem. pl'y. 12,904	Dem. pl'y. 435	Gold Dem. 877
Prohib'n.. 72	Prohib'n.. 400	Prohib'n.. 565	Prohib'n.. 355
			Rep. maj.. 2,148

FLORIDA

Dem..... 31,766	Dem..... 39,561	Dem..... 30,103	Dem..... 32,736
Rep..... 28,031	Rep..... 26,657	Rep..... 4,843	Rep..... 11,288
Dem. pl'y. 3,735	Dem. pl'y. 12,904	Dem. pl'y. 25,260	Dem. pl'y.. 21,448
Prohib'n.. 72	Prohib'n.. 417	Prohib'n.. 475	

GEORGIA

Dem..... 94,667	Dem..... 100,449	Dem..... 129,361	Dem..... 94,232
Rep..... 48,603	Rep..... 40,446	Rep..... 48,305	Rep..... 60,091
Dem. pl'y. 46,064	Dem. pl'y. 60,003	Dem. pl'y. 81,056	Dem. pl'y.. 34,141
Greenback 145	Prohib'n.. 1,808	Populist.. 43,937	
Prohib'n.. 195		Prohib'n.. 5,613	

IDAHO

		Populist and Dem... 10,520	Dem. and Populist. 27,192
		Rep..... 8,599	Rep..... 6,324
		Fus. pl'y.. 1,921	Fus. pl'y.. 20,868
		Prohib'n.. 288	

ILLINOIS

Rep..... 337,469	Rep..... 370,475	Dem..... 426,281	Rep..... 607,130
Dem..... 312,351	Dem..... 348,371	Rep..... 399,288	Dem..... 464,632
Rep. pl'y. 25,118	Rep. pl'y.. 22,104	Dem. pl'y. 26,993	Rep. pl'y.. 142,498
Greenback 10,766	Labor.... 7,134	Prohib'n.. 25,870	Gold Dem. 6,370
Prohib'n.. 12,074	U. Labor. 21,703	Populist.. 22,207	Prohib'n... 9,796
			Nat. Peop.. 793
			Soc. Labor. 1,147

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INDIANA

1884	1888	1892	1896
Rep. 244,900	Rep. 263,361	Dem. 263,740	Rep. 323,754
Dem. 218,463	Dem. 261,013	Rep. 255,615	Dem. 305,573
Rep. pl'y.. 6,527	Rep. pl'y.. 2,348	Dem. pl'y. 7,125	Rep. pl'y.. 18,181
Greenback 8,293	U. Labor. 2,694	Prohib'n.. 13,050	Gold Dem.. 2,145
Prohib'n.. 3,028	Prohib'n.. 9,881	Populist.. 22,208	Prohib'n... 3,056
			Nat. Peop.. 2,268
			Soc. Labor. 329

IOWA

Rep. 197,089	Rep. 211,508	Rep. 219,795	Rep. 289,293
Dem. 177,316	Dem. 179,877	Dem. 196,363	Dem. 223,741
Rep. pl'y.. 19,773	Rep. pl'y.. 31,631	Rep. pl'y. 23,432	Rep. pl'y.. 65,552
Prohib'n.. 1,472	U. Labor. 9,105	Prohib'n.. 6,402	Gold Dem. 4,516
	Prohib'n.. 3,550	Populist.. 20,595	Prohib'n... 3,192
			Nat. Peo.. 352
			Soc. Labor. 453

KANSAS

Rep. 154,406	Rep. 182,904	Populist.. 163,111	Dem. 171,810
Dem. 90,132	Dem. 102,745	Rep. 157,237	Rep. 159,541
Rep. pl'y. 64,274	Rep. pl'y. 80,149	Pop. pl'y.. 5,874	Dem. pl'y.. 12,269
Greenback 16,341	U. Labor. 37,778	Democrats voted with Populists.	Gold Dem. 1,209
Prohib'n.. 4,495	Prohib'n.. 6,779		Prohib'n... 1,921
			Nat. Peop. 630

KENTUCKY

Dem. 152,961	Dem. 183,800	Dem. 175,461	Rep. 218,171
Rep. 118,122	Rep. 155,134	Rep. 135,441	Dem. 217,890
Dem. pl'y. 34,839	Dem. pl'y. 28,666	Dem. pl'y. 40,020	Rep. pl'y.. 281
Greenback 1,691	U. Labor. 622	Populist.. 23,523	Gold Dem. 5,114
Prohib'n.. 3,139	Prohib'n.. 5,552	Prohib'n... 6,442	Prohib'n... 4,781

LOUISIANA

Dem. 62,540	Dem. 85,032	Dem. 87,922	Dem. 77,175
Rep. 46,347	Rep. 30,701	Rep. 26,563	Rep. 22,037
Dem. pl'y. 16,193	Dem. pl'y. 54,331	Dem. pl'y. 61,359	Dem. pl'y.. 55,138
	Prohib'n.. 160	Populists voted with Republicans.	

MAINE

Rep. 72,209	Rep. 73,734	Rep. 62,923	Rep. 80,465
Dem. 52,140	Dem. 50,481	Dem. 48,044	Dem. 34,658
Rep. pl'y.. 20,069	Rep. pl'y. 23,253	Rep. pl'y. 14,879	Rep. pl'y.. 45,777
Greenback 3,953	Labor.... 1,344	Prohib'n.. 3,062	Gold Dem. 1,870
Prohib'n.. 2,100	Prohib'n.. 2,691	Populist.. 2,381	Prohib'n... 1,570

MARYLAND

1884	1888	1892	1896
Dem..... 96,866	Dem..... 106,168	Dem..... 113,866	Rep..... 136,959
Rep..... 85,748	Rep..... 99,986	Rep..... 92,736	Dem..... 104,735
Dem. pl'y. 11,118	Dem. pl'y. 6,182	Dem. pl'y. 21,130	Rep. pl'y.. 32,224
Greenback 578	Prohib'n.. 4,776	Populist.. 796	Gold Dem. 2,507
Prohib'n.. 2,827			Prohib'n... 5,918
			Nat. Peop.. 136
			Soc. Labor. 586

MASSACHUSETTS

Rep..... 146,724	Rep..... 183,892	Rep..... 202,814	Rep..... 278,976
Dem..... 122,352	Dem..... 151,858	Dem..... 176,813	Dem..... 105,711
Rep. pl'y. 24,372	Rep. pl'y. 32,034	Rep. pl'y. 26,001	Rep. pl'y.. 173,265
Greenback 24,433	Prohib'n.. 8,701	Populist.. 3,210	Gold Dem.. 11,749
Prohib'n.. 10,026		Prohib'n.. 7,959	Prohib'n... 2,998

MICHIGAN

Rep..... 198,669	Rep..... 236,387	Rep..... 222,708	Rep..... 293,552
Dem..... 149,835	Dem..... 213,469	Dem..... 202,296	Dem..... 236,714
Rep. pl'y. 42,834	Rep. pl'y. 22,918	Rep. pl'y. 20,412	Rep. pl'y.. 56,868
Greenback 42,243	U. Labor. 4,455	Populist.. 19,892	Gold Dem.. 6,879
Prohib'n.. 18,403	Prohib'n.. 20,945	Prohib'n.. 14,069	Prohib'n... 5,025
			Nat. Peop.. 1,995
			Soc. Labor. 297

MINNESOTA

Rep..... 111,685	Rep..... 142,492	Rep..... 122,823	Rep..... 193,501
Dem..... 70,065	Dem..... 104,385	Dem..... 109,920	Dem..... 139,626
Rep. pl'y. 41,620	Rep. pl'y. 38,107	Rep. pl'y. 12,903	Rep. pl'y.. 53,875
Greenback 3,583	Labor.... 1,097	Populist.. 29,313	Gold Dem. 3,602
Prohib'n.. 4,684	Prohib'n.. 15,311	Prohib'n.. 14,182	Prohib'n... 4,343
			Soc. Labor. 867

MISSISSIPPI

Dem..... 76,510	Dem..... 84,471	Dem..... 40,237	Dem..... 63,859
Rep..... 43,509	Rep..... 30,096	Rep..... 1,406	Rep..... 5,130
Dem. pl'y. 33,001	Dem. pl'y. 54,375	Dem. pl'y. 38,831	Dem. pl'y.. 58,729
	U. Labor. 222	Populist.. 10,256	Gold Dem. 1,071
	Prohib'n.. 218	Prohib'n.. 980	Prohib'n... 485

MISSOURI

Dem..... 235,988	Dem..... 261,984	Dem..... 269,389	Dem..... 363,667
Rep..... 202,929	Rep..... 236,853	Rep..... 226,918	Rep..... 304,940
Dem. pl'y. 33,059	Dem. pl'y. 25,701	Dem. pl'y. 42,471	Dem. pl'y.. 58,727
Prohib'n.. 2,153	Labor.... 18,589	Populist.. 41,263	Gold Dem. 2,355
	Prohib'n.. 4,540	Prohib'n.. 4,331	Prohib'n... 2,169
			Nat. Peop.. 293
			Soc. Labor. 596

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NEBRASKA

1884	1888	1892	1896
Rep..... 76,903	Rep..... 108,425	Rep..... 87,813	Dem..... 115,880
Dem..... 54,991	Dem..... 80,552	Populist.. 83,124	Rep..... 102,304
Rep. pl'y. 22,512	Rep. pl'y. 27,873	Rep. pl'y. 4,079	Dem. pl'y.. 13,576
Prohib'n.. 2,899	Labor.... 4,226	Dem..... 24,943	Gold Dem. 2,885
	Prohib'n.. 9,429	Prohib'n.. 4,909	Prohib'n... 1,193
			Nat. Peop.. 707
			Soc. Labor. 186

NEVADA

Rep..... 7,193	Rep..... 7,238	Populist.. 7,264	Dem..... 8,377
Dem..... 5,578	Dem..... 5,326	Rep..... 2,811	Rep..... 1,918
Rep. pl'y. 1,615	Rep. pl'y. 1,912	Pop. pl'y.. 4,453	Dem. pl'y.. 6,439
Greenback 26	Prohib'n.. 41		

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Rep..... 43,250	Rep..... 45,728	Rep..... 45,628	Rep..... 57,444
Dem..... 39,187	Dem..... 43,456	Dem..... 42,081	Dem..... 21,650
Rep. pl'y. 4,063	Rep. pl'y. 2,272	Rep. pl'y. 3,547	Rep. pl'y.. 35,794
Greenback 1,571	Prohib'n.. 1,593	Prohib'n.. 1,297	Nat. Peop.. 49
Prohib'n.. 552		Populist.. 292	Soc. Labor. 228

NEW JERSEY

Dem..... 127,778	Dem..... 151,493	Dem..... 171,042	Rep..... 221,367
Rep..... 123,360	Rep..... 144,344	Rep..... 156,068	Dem..... 133,675
Dem. pl'y. 4,412	Dem. pl'y. 7,149	Dem. pl'y. 14,974	Rep. pl'y.. 87,692
Greenback 3,456	Prohib'n.. 7,904	Prohib'n.. 8,131	Gold Dem. 6,373
Prohib'n.. 6,153		Populist.. 969	Prohib'n... 5,614
		Soc. Labor. 1,337	Soc. Labor. 3,985

NEW YORK

Dem..... 563,154	Rep..... 650,338	Dem..... 654,868	Rep..... 819,838
Rep..... 562,000	Dem..... 635,965	Rep..... 609,350	Dem..... 551,369
Dem. pl'y. 1,154	Rep. pl'y. 14,373	Dem. pl'y. 45,518	Rep. pl'y.. 268,469
Greenback 16,994	Labor.... 686	Prohib'n.. 38,380	Gold Dem. 18,950
Prohib'n.. 25,016	Prohib'n.. 30,231		Prohib'n... 16,052
			Soc. Labor. 17,667

NORTH CAROLINA

Dem..... 142,952	Dem..... 147,902	Dem..... 132,951	Dem. 174,488
Rep..... 125,068	Rep..... 134,784	Rep..... 100,342	Rep..... 155,222
Dem. pl'y. 17,884	Dem. pl'y. 13,118	Dem. pl'y. 32,609	Dem. pl'y.. 19,266
Prohib'n.. 454	U. Labor. 147	Populist.. 44,736	Gold Dem. 578
	Prohib'n.. 2,789		Prohib'n... 675
			Nat. Peop.. 2,636

NORTH DAKOTA

1884	1888	1892	1896
		Dem. and Populist 17,700	Rep..... 26,335
		Rep..... 17,519	Dem..... 20,686
		Fus. pl'y.. 181	Rep. pl'y.. 5,649
		Prohib'n.. 899	Prohib'n... 358

OHIO

Rep..... 400,082	Rep..... 416,054	Rep..... 405,187	Rep..... 525,991
Dem..... 368,280	Dem..... 396,455	Dem..... 404,115	Dem..... 478,494
Rep. pl'y. 31,802	Rep. pl'y. 19,599	Rep. pl'y. 1,072	Rep. pl'y.. 47,497
Greenback 5,179	Labor.... 3,496	Prohib'n.. 26,012	Gold Dem. 1,857
Prohib'n.. 11,069	Prohib'n.. 24,356	Populist.. 14,850	Prohib'n... 5,068
			Nat. Peop.. 2,716
			Soc. Labor. 1,167

OREGON

Rep..... 26,860	Rep..... 33,291	Rep..... 35,002	Rep..... 48,779
Dem..... 24,604	Dem..... 26,522	Populist.. 26,965	Dem..... 46,662
Rep. pl'y. 2,256	Rep. pl'y. 6,769	Rep. pl'y. 8,037	Rep. pl'y.. 2,117
Greenback 726	U. Labor. 363	Dem..... 14,243	Prohib'n... 919
Prohib'n.. 492	Prohib'n.. 1,677		Gold Dem. 977

PENNSYLVANIA

Rep..... 473,804	Rep..... 526,091	Rep..... 516,011	Rep..... 728,300
Dem..... 392,785	Dem..... 446,633	Dem..... 452,264	Dem..... 433,228
Rep. pl'y. 81,019	Rep. pl'y. 79,458	Rep. pl'y. 63,747	Rep. pl'y.. 295,072
Greenback 16,992	U. Labor. 3,877		Gold Dem. 11,000
Prohib'n.. 15,283	Prohib'n.. 20,708		Prohib'n... 19,274
			Nat. Peop.. 870
			Soc. Labor. 1,683

RHODE ISLAND

Rep..... 19,030	Rep..... 21,969	Rep..... 26,972	Rep..... 37,437
Dem..... 12,391	Dem..... 17,530	Dem..... 24,335	Dem..... 14,459
Rep. pl'y. 6,639	Rep. pl'y. 4,439	Rep. pl'y. 2,637	Rep. pl'y.. 22,978
Greenback 422	Prohib'n.. 1,251	Prohib'n.. 1,654	Gold Dem. 1,166
Prohib'n.. 938		Populist.. 227	Prohib'n... 1,160
			Nat. Peop.. 5
			Soc. Labor. 558

SOUTH CAROLINA

Dem..... 69,800	Dem..... 65,825	Dem..... 54,692	Dem..... 58,798
Rep..... 21,733	Rep..... 13,736	Rep..... 13,345	Rep..... 9,281
Dem. pl'y. 48,067	Dem. pl'y. 52,089	Dem. pl'y. 41,347	Dem. pl'y.. 49,517
		Populist.. 2,407	Gold Dem. 828

SOUTH DAKOTA

1884	1888	1892	1896
		Rep..... 34,888	Dem..... 41,225
		Dem..... 9,081	Rep..... 41,042
		Rep. pl'y. 25,807	Dem. pl'y.. 183
			Prohib'n... 683

TENNESSEE

Dem.....133,870	Dem.....158,779	Dem. ...138,874	Dem.166,268
Rep.....124,090	Rep.....138,988	Rep.....100,331	Rep.....148,773
Dem. pl'y. 9,180	Dem. pl'y. 19,791	Dem. pl'y. 38,543	Dem. pl'y.. 17,495
Prohib'n.. 1,151	Prohib'n.. 6,017	Populist.. 23,447	Gold Dem. 1,951
		Prohib'n.. 4,851	Prohib'n... 3,098

TEXAS

Dem.....225,309	Dem.....234,883	Dem.....239,148	Dem.....370,434
Rep..... 93,141	Rep..... 88,280	Populist.. 99,688	Rep.....167,520
Dem. pl'y.132,168	Dem. pl'y.146,603	Dem. pl'y.139,460	Dem. pl'y..202,914
Greenback 3,321	U. Labor. 29,459	Rep..... 77,478	Gold Dem. 5,046
Prohib'n.. 3,534	Prohib'n.. 4,749	Prohib'n.. 2,165	Prohib'n... 1,786
		White R.. 3,969	

UTAH

			Dem..... 64,517
			Rep..... 13,484
			Dem. pl'y.. 51,033
			Gold Dem. 21

VERMONT

Rep..... 99,814	Rep..... 45,192	Rep..... 37,992	Rep..... 51,127
Dem..... 17,331	Dem..... 16,788	Dem..... 16,325	Dem..... 10,639
Rep. pl'y. 22,183	Rep. pl'y. 28,404	Rep. pl'y.. 21,667	Rep. pl'y.. 40,488
Greenback 785	Prohib'n.. 1,459		Gold Dem. 1,331
Prohib'n.. 1,752			Prohib'n... 733

VIRGINIA

Dem.....145,497	Dem.....151,977	Dem.....163,977	Dem.....154,709
Rep.....139,356	Rep.....150,438	Rep.....113,242	Rep.....135,368
Dem. pl'y. 6,141	Dem. pl'y. 1,539	Dem. pl'y. 50,735	Dem. pl'y.. 19,341
Prohib'n.. 138	Prohib'n.. 1,678	Populist.. 12,275	Gold Dem. 2,129
			Prohib'n.. 2,356
			Soc. Labor. 108

WASHINGTON

1884	1888	1892	1896
		Rep..... 36,460	Dem..... 51,646
		Dem..... 29,802	Rep..... 39,153
		Rep. pl'y. 6,658	Dem. pl'y.. 12,493
		Populist.. 19,165	Gold Dem. 1,668
		Prohib'n.. 2,542	Prohib'n... 968

WEST VIRGINIA

Dem..... 67,307	Dem..... 78,916	Dem..... 84,467	Rep..... 104,414
Rep..... 63,096	Rep..... 78,364	Rep..... 80,293	Dem..... 92,927
Dem. pl'y. 4,211	Dem. pl'y. 552	Dem. pl'y. 4,174	Rep. pl'y.. 11,487
Greenback 805	U. Labor. 434	Populist.. 4,166	Gold Dem. 677
Prohib'n.. 939	Prohib'n.. 595	Prohib'n.. 2,145	Prohib'n... 1,203

WISCONSIN

Rep..... 161,157	Rep..... 176,553	Dem..... 177,335	Rep..... 268,135
Dem..... 146,459	Dem..... 155,232	Rep..... 170,791	Dem..... 165,523
Rep. pl'y. 14,698	Rep. pl'y. 21,321	Dem. pl'y. 6,544	Rep. pl'y.. 102,612
Greenback 4,598	U. Labor. 8,552	Prohib'n.. 13,132	Gold Dem. 4,584
Prohib'n.. 7,656	Prohib'n.. 14,277	Populist.. 9,909	Prohib'n... 7,504
			Nat. Peop. 346
			Soc. Labor, 1,314

WYOMING

		Rep..... 8,454	Dem..... 10,655
		Dem. and	Rep..... 10,072
		Populist 7,722	Dem. pl'y.. 583
		Rep. pl'y. 732	Prohib'n... 136
		Prohib'n.. 530	





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